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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Report on Preparations for Disarmament Conference

LD1701174990 Prague CTK in English 1559 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 17 (CTK)—The ninth assembly of the "European nuclear disarmament" will take place in a socialist country for the first time—in Helsinki and Tallinn on July 3-7, 1990, members of the preparatory committee of the assembly Ilkka Taipale and Kari vaclimacki stressed at a press conference here today.

The assembly will review e.g. possibilities of cooperation of the Baltic countries, problems of nationalism and the right of soldiers to reject the fulfilment of an order as well. The organizers of the assembly plan that the exchange of opinions will take place in about 50 debate centres. 30-40 Czechoslovak delegates will participate.

Ilkka Taipale and Kari Vaclimacki said that the assembly is being prepared as an action of the cities of Helsinki and Tallinn.

Answering the question of a CTK correspondent concerning the efforts of the Soviet Baltic republics to separate themselves from the Soviet Union, they stressed that they do not support extreme nationalism but would welcome Leningrad's greater openness and Tallinn's greater independence on Moscow [as received].

The "European nuclear disarmament" is a peace organization which started to work in Great Britain at the beginning of the eighties. It was joined later by peace organizations from other European countries. The first assembly was held in Brussels in 1982.

CSSR's Balcar on Disarmament-Related Problems

AU0901142590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Jan 90 p 6

[Interview with Ladislav Balcar, head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Vienna disarmament talks, by Peter Martinek in Vienna; date not given: "Diplomats Are Breaking the Charmed Circle"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Martinek] The known snag in the disarmament talks is the issue of helicopters, of which the two sides have dozens of types and which are fairly difficult to define. How will you be able to deal with this?

[Balcar] This really is a fairly complex issue. The main problem is that the NATO countries demand that among the helicopters targeted for reductions and for possible scrapping there should be not only all combat but also noncombat helicopters, if a combat version exists; for example, the MI-8 helicopter in the service of the Czechoslovak People's Army and, at the same time, extensively used as a transport helicopter in civil aviation. This means that this is a helicopter of which a combat version exists, and we would then also have to scrap machines which we are using, for example, as ambulance helicopters. Everyone must feel that this demand is somewhat illogical. But the Western side also complains about our demands. Specifically, our disarmament interests are at odds with the future plans of the Western arms manufacturers. Precisely those production corporations are trying to formulate the disarmament demands in such a way as not to endanger their production interests. And there are several such areas which present problems.

[Martinek] The West has now proposed a definition which sets the limit for armored tanks at 20 tonnes at the most. What does it constitute?

[Balcar] This is a proposal which enables the NATO countries to keep almost all types of light tanks. And this is precisely the direction of the technical development in their production. One, namely, switches to light materials and modern technologies. On the other hand, we would have to scrap a large number of infantry armored vehicles. At the same time, however, the new NATO's definition accommodates the wishes of the Warsaw Pact countries. Specifically, it is known that in the past NATO used to absolutely refuse to include light tanks and armored personnel carriers with heavy equipment in the category of armament which had to be reduced. Now they are doing this on the basis of a just demand of the Warsaw Pact countries, but at a considerable price.

[Martinek] It seems that we could go through category after category of weapons and always come against a problem. Let us take, for example, the combat air force.

[Balcar] Regarding aircraft, the situation is complex, too. We must realize that—to defend its economic, political, and military centers—the USSR needs certain strategic devices located on ground. The NATO countries have them on vessels, but navies are not discussed. Thus far, these complex questions of the geostrategic position of our countries and the NATO countries still await solution. However, the scrapping of strategic air forces and missiles located on vessels will be a tough nut to crack.

[Martinek] Our public has been asking lots of questions in connection with the prospect of the departure of the 80,000- strong Soviet Army, which has been on our territory for more than 20 years now. Its withdrawal should be included in the agenda of the Vienna talks. Not so long ago, our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jiri Dienstbier, spoke about this with Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow.

[Balcar] I know that this question is very topical for our citizens. However, I will get more detailed instructions only when I return to Prague. Regarding the solution concerning the troops stationed outside national territories, here, as it is known, the USSR had proposed that the USSR and the United States reduce their number to 275,000 men. However, this solution sidesteps one important fact, that is, that Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, and Great Britain, too, have troops on the FRG territory. They number about 150-160,000 men. This numerically-strong army is not being taken into consideration.

[Martinek] So far, we have not mentioned the issues connected with the verification of the observance of the agreement which, let us hope, will be reached as soon as possible.

[Balcar] This is a chapter in itself. There will be several kinds of verification, for example, on-site inspections, which will be carried out at random, practically within an hour. The verification of the scrapping of weapons will be carried out by military attaches accredited in this or that country.

CSSR's Slimak Addresses Vienna Meeting

LD1701221490 Prague CTK in English
2034 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna, Jan 17 (CTK)—"The revival of the democratic system has opened possibilities of introducing new foreign and military policies in Czechoslovakia", Commander of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff Major-General Anton Slimak said here Wednesday addressing a seminar on military doctrines of the CSCE member states.

He said that Czechoslovakia proceeds from the commitments drawn from its membership in the Warsaw Treaty, but demands that these commitments should be based on equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of the member states. He stated that the military policy is subordinated to Czechoslovakia's position in Europe both from the geographical point of view regarding also the aspect of European culture.

Czechoslovakia strives to develop friendly relations with all states, especially the neighbouring ones, in political, economic, spiritual and military spheres. Czechoslovakia considers stability of borders in Europe a guarantee of mutual confidence. It will consistently realize the defensive character of its military doctrine with the aim to reach the level of reasonable sufficiency, he said.

Owing to reality and historical experience, Czechoslovakia is, however, still forced to adopt necessary measures for its defence.

Major-General Anton Slimak held today also bilateral talks with General Inspector of the Austrian Army General of the U.S. Army General Colin Powell, General Inspector of the West German Bundeswehr Admiral Dieter Wellershoff and Chief of Staff of the Swiss Armed Forces Army General Heinz Haesler.

Nexhmije Hoxha on Anti-Albanian 'Slanders'

AU2001133990 Tirana ATA in English 0938 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 20 (ATA)—The Presidency of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania convened in Tirana on January 18. It examined the reports presented by the presidencies of the Democratic Front of the districts of Durres and Tropoje "On the work done to raise the role of intelligentsia in the activity of the Democratic Front Organization."

In their contributions the members of the presidency pointed out that our people's intelligentsia, which constitutes a great army of over 72 thousand people, represents one of the most valuable investments of our socialist society in these 45 years. Molded with the teachings of the party and the glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, it is conscious of the role and high obligation it has toward the people on the road of the all-round development of the country. Through the contributions it was discussed on the vast echo of Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech held amidst the workers of the automobile and tractor combine, the indignation and revolt spread in the entire people and intelligentsia against the hostile anti-Albanian calumnies, as well as the major commitment to defend the homeland and the triumph of socialism.

At the meeting the floor was taken also by Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha. She said among others: "During these days we are eyewitnessing the indignation our people has reacted with against the slanders fabricated by the Belgrade chauvinists, by the Greek reaction and Western press.

But these shameful attacks have united our people more round the party and the beloved leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia, they are mobilized more at work to realize the plan of the last year of the Eighth Five Year Plan, they have sharpened their vigilance and consolidated their readiness to safeguard the homeland and the victories attained.

All this black sediment poured by the Belgrade canals against socialist Albania and the Party of Labour did not surprise our people because they are used to hearing any kind of slanders over these 45 years, but they were surprised more by the deadening fuss of the so-called democratic radios, television, and press of the Western countries. What kind of democracy is it to grant yourself the right to call for the overthrow of the state power of a people who have established it themselves?

Our good youngsters, who know well what is happening in the world, who welcome sincerely many friends who come to their country, writers, musicologists, singers, sportsmen, etc., are surprised and say: "What do they have with us? What kind of moral and freedom of the press is it, which, shamelessly, concoct with their sick imagination gallows in the squares and boulevards where we walk, laugh, and make love, where they hang us?" Who has entitled these trumpeters of the human rights and democracy to offend our people, our dignity of free men?

Our party and state face with courage all the difficulties because they are supported by the entire people, because they pursue a correct policy with the neighboring states of the Balkans and others. They will continue to have trade, cultural exchanges without making concession in the basic principles, without yielding before anybody's pressure.

French TV Reports 'No Sign of Unrest'

AU2101141390 Tirana ATA in English 0943 GMT 21 Jan 90

["The Situation in Albania Is Calm and There Is No Sign of 'Unrest'—According to the French Television"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 21 (ATA)—The French Television, FR3, broadcast on January 19, evening a reportage on Albania, shot these days by a French group of cameramen which is in our country. After speaking of the information granted by the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG and the Belgrade press and television on the alleged "state of emergency" even on "uprising" in Shkoder city, the speaker pointed out that the Albanian authorities have dismissed them as slanders.

"Today," he said, "a team of the French Television, FR3, is in Albania and is transmitting directly from the city of Shkoder, where it is said that there has been unrest since December last year." Transmitting views from this city, the French Television pointed out, that as the cameras of the French group show, "The situation in Albania is calm and there is no sign of unrest." It broadcast also a meeting of this group with students of the Higher Pedagogical Institute of Shkoder, as well as some of their interviews, which, according to the French commentator "refute with indignation the slanders distributed by the foreign agencies with regard to the situation in Albania." At the end of the reportage on our country, the FR3 television gave views fixed in an entertaining evening party of our students which was attended also by members of the French TV group.

Italian Senator Denial of Unrest Reported

AU2001140390 Tirana ATA in English 0906 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 19 (ATA)—The Italian newspaper LA REPUBLICA carried today an interview with the Senator Giulio Orlando, who paid a visit to Albania recently. The interview is entitled "No State of Emergency in Tirana" and its subtitle stresses that the Italian senator "disproved the reports spread by the Yugoslav papers."

At the beginning of the interview, Orlando said that he had fixed the date of his visit to Albania long before there reached the first voices about "the state of emergency, protests, and rare gunshots throughout the country". He added that by making this visit he might see with his own eyes what was happening. I noticed, he underlined, that there was no state of emergency at all. Regarding the fact that the Yugoslav television and press have spoken of strikes, demonstrations, and gunshots in Albania, the Italian senator said that TANJUG and the Yugoslav television have spread and amplified these voices, but in reality these reports were groundless. What they desire does not correspond to the reality, he added, underlining that anybody may think what he likes of Albania, but in the final account he should respect the facts.

The Italian Embassy in Tirana, Orlando continued, has informed Rome that the situation is quiet. I myself spent a night in Shkoder, in the streets of which it was said that allegedly demonstrations were being staged. The situation was tranquil. Then I went to Berat. There still everything was quiet.

Expressing his impressions of the visit to Albania, which was the third after those made in 1972 and 1988, the senator Giulio Orlando said that the desire to maintain its stable independence is noticed in Albania. He described as reasonable the motives Albania is governed in its policy towards the Soviet Union and some other countries. Tirana, he stressed, has safeguarded with jealousy its independence from the foreign interferences, including the Yugoslav ones as well. He added that Tito wanted to include Albania in the Yugoslav Federation but the Albanians did not accept. Now, the Italian senator continued, Albania has expressed its readiness to have relations of good neighborliness with all the countries, with Yugoslavia as well, despite the problems existing between them, first of all that of Kosovo.

At the end of his interview, the senator Orlando said that the Albanian government and people take a special interest in the relations with Italy. He mentioned the readiness of Albania to reach an agreement on the Adriatic together with the other countries watered by this sea.

The first canal of the Italian radio television (RAI1) broadcast on January 19 an interview with Giulio Orlando, where he said that over his visit to Tirana, Shkoder, and Berat he did not see any state of emergency, tanks in the streets, movements of the army, etc. Regarding the stand of Albania about the events in Eastern Europe, the Italian senator said: what happened in the Eastern countries has not been a surprise in Albania and these changes have not surprised them. It has its ideology, which it defends. It has long ago dispatched itself from these countries and it has no relations at all with the Soviet Union.

Carcani Visits Elbasan Combine, Cooperative

AU1901142590 Tirana ATA in English 0958 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 19 (ATA)—The member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani, went in the district of Elbasan these days.

There he paid a visit to the "Steel of the Party" Metallurgical Combine, where he met with workers and specialists of the steel plant and got closely acquainted with their achievements.

In the meeting organized on the occasion in one of the halls of the "Steel of the Party" Metallurgical Combine with workers, specialists, and cadres from the plants of the combine, the director of the combine informed him of the work being done there in order to realize and overfulfill the tasks of the last year of the Eighth Five Year Plan. The workers and cadres who took the floor promised that they will enhance their mobilization in order to overfulfill the planned tasks of this year, their readiness and determination to safeguard the victories achieved, the freedom and independence of our homeland, voicing at the same time their indignation for the slanders of the enemies towards Albania, as well as the unity round the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

Comrade Adil Carcani, too, spoke at the meeting. He concentrated among others on the economic, social, and political potential the "Steel of the Party" Metallurgical Combine has for our country. With its products, it makes ever more independent the various branches of the country's economy, which are linked with the combine.

Further on Comrade Adil Carcani said that a lofty revolutionary spirit prevails in our country, but these days, after the very important speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia, held in the "Enver Hoxha" Automobile and Tractors Combine, this spirit is further enhanced. We noticed this also amongst you, and certainly the echo of this speech will raise higher the impetus at work in order to accomplish even greater tasks, to raise higher the creative thinking of the masses.

Comrade Adil Carcani spoke also on some questions of the present international situation. He laid the stress among others on the slanders towards Albania by the press and television of some countries and of Belgrade in particular, which have indignated the entire Albanian people, but at the same time have increased the mobilization at work for the realization and overfulfillment of the tasks, have sharpened the vigilance and consolidated the unity of the people round the party, their determination to march on the road of socialism scoring successive victories, led by the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

Besides, Comrade Adil Carcani met with workers, builders, and fitters and producers of the ferrochrome plant. He congratulated them for having kept the promise by constructing and commissioning the first furnace within a record time.

Comrade Adil Carcani visited also the "Perparimi" higher-type cooperative, where he talked with cooperativists of Pajove cooperative. In the meeting with the cooperativists of the "Perparimi" agricultural cooperative he evaluated the good work made in these economies.

1990 Trade Protocol Signed With Romania

AU1801110790 Tirana ATA in English 0953 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 18 (ATA)—The protocol on the exchange of goods and payments for 1990 was signed in Tirana between the Government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Government of Romania on January 17.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Altin Ylli, deputy minister of foreign trade, and for the Romanian side by Stefan Stancu, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

The signing ceremony was also attended by Gheorghe Pop, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania in our country.

The PSR of Albania will export to Romania chrome ore, ferrochrome, electric power, copper wires, coal, tobacco and cigarettes, etc., and will import oil tubes and equipments for the oil industry, synthetic threads and fibres, chemicals, various machineries and equipments, spare parts, etc.

During his stay in our country, the deputy minister of foreign trade and of international economic cooperation of Romania, Stefan Stancu, was received by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade.

Turkish-Bulgarian Talks 'Goodwill' Praised

AU1701113090 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 13 Jan 90 p 4

[Maksim Rustemi article: "Turkish-Bulgarian Dialogue in Kuwait—A Sensible and Positive Step"]

[Text] After the first talks held on 30 October 1989, the foreign ministers of two Balkan countries, Mesut Yilmaz of Turkey and his Bulgarian counterpart Boyko Dimitrov, have recently met again in Kuwait. The agenda of the talks included the problems of the Turkish ethnic minority in Bulgaria and the improvement of neighborly relations.

The Turkish-Bulgarian dialogue in Kuwait, as has emerged from the joint statements of the two participants issued to journalists following the meeting during and after the talks, has inaugurated a new phase in relations between Sofia and Ankara. In every sense, they underline the importance these days of open, sincere, and constructive dialogue between neighboring states, which will influence Balkan historical reality in favor of the peoples and countries of our region. In this process, the Turkish-Bulgarian step is a tangible example of a demonstration of political goodwill and the readiness of both sides to act on the ideas and views on understanding and security in the Balkans which the countries of the region frankly discussed together. It was evident from the meeting that the two sides are making earnest efforts to avoid points of divergence.

The occasion also showed the readiness of other peoples and countries to give close help in overcoming the tensions that can arise in relations between neighboring countries, without devising intrigues and fabrications, and without inciting one side against the other. The presence of the highest representatives of the Islamic Conference, the opening speech of the host foreign minister of Kuwait, Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, and the continuous personal interest of the emir of Kuwait, Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al- Sabah in having the talks held in Kuwait, and expressing the hope that they would make progress, were commendable signs showing a healthy desire for peace, tranquility, good-neighborliness, and stability among the countries and peoples of every region. In achieving such goals, there is and will be no lack of ways and means. It will involve energy on the part of democratic forces and ideas, faith in the future, and mutual and multilateral commitments to respect the principles of the UN Charter and other acts of the international community. The common exchange of views in the Turkish-Bulgarian dialogue in Kuwait led to the conclusion that the two countries will continue this process in Ottawa, Canada in February during an international conference on ecological problems.

Different views and proposals were put forward at the talks. The press reports that proposals were made to create a special body to examine bilateral relations, a special committee to deal with the problem of emigrants, and to reach a reciprocal agreement that will put relations on a new and more stable footing to mutual benefit, and so forth. By the latter, some observers understand the signing of a treaty (or agreement) of Turkish-Bulgarian nonaggression. The fact that it has been decided that the two sides will meet and talk again next month could mean that the proposals and suggestions made at the Kuwait talks will be studied in depth. What is striking about these proposals is that some of them are neither new nor unfamiliar. There are examples of treaties of friendship and mutual assistance between Balkan countries. They have been and remain significant and powerful factors throughout development processes in our region.

Kosovo Democratic League 'Open Letter' to LCY

AU1901142790 Tirana ATA in English 0939 GMT 19 Jan 90

["Serb Nationalism Is the Main Responsible for the Crisis in Kosovo—an Open Letter of the Democratic League of Kosovo Says"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 19 (ATA)—As the TANJUG news agency reports, the Democratic League of Kosovo, created in Pristina last year, has recently sent an open letter to the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] due to be held soon. This letter, which is signed by the chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova, speaks of the interethnic relations in Yugoslavia, and particularly on the grave situation in Kosovo, and the violation of the rights of the Albanian population. It stresses that grave consequences of the national policy of the LCY and of the nationalistic orientations of this policy, are reflected in the most tragic form in the position of the Albanians of Kosovo. To this end, the Democratic League of Kosovo voices its opinion against the methods and means resorted to until now to "arrange" the situation in the region. It stresses that the problems of Kosovo can be solved only on the basis of the complete national equality and through the rapid economic development of the region.

The open letter underlines that the stands and criteria on "the national minorities" are inapplicable towards the Albanians in Yugoslavia, that the policy of restrictions is useless, and that the essential curbing of autonomy of Kosovo, the unitarianist euphoria and annexationist illusions do not comply with Kosovo's socio-political and national being. Such expressions, TANJUG points out, allude to the policy pursued by Serbia in Kosovo.

With regard to the draft resolution of the 14th Congress of the LCY for Kosovo, announced recently, the letter says that this document testifies to a nonrealistic treatment of the situation in Kosovo and does not lead to overcome of its crisis, but it only repeats the groundless accusations towards the Albanians of Kosovo that allegedly they exert pressure to attain "ethnic purity" of the province and for its secession from Yugoslavia. The letter says also that it is the Albanians who emigrate mostly from Kosovo due to appalling unemployment and that the Albanians are the main victims of non-respecting the constitutional laws.

At the end, the open letter of the Democratic League of Kosovo seeks to give the merited condemnation to the Serbian nationalism and stresses that Serb nationalism is mainly responsible for the crisis in Kosovo.

Road Transportation Agreement Signed With Poland

AU1901142390 Tirana ATA in English 1009 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 19 (ATA)—The agreement on the international motor road transport between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Poland was signed in Tirana on January 18.

For the Albanian side the agreement was signed by the general secretary of the Ministry of Transportation, Ferdinand Tako, and for the Polish side by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Poland to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Wladyslaw Ciaston. Attending the signing ceremony were the vice minister of foriegn trade, Altin Ylli, the head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Andon Berxholi, and other comrades.

UN Secretary General To Visit in May

AU2001204190 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar will pay an official and friendly visit to Albania at the invitation of Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. As is known, the invitation was extended during their meeting last October at the United Nations. The visit will take place at the beginning of May 1990.

Soviet Reassessment of Afghanistan Invasion Viewed

AU1001103490 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Dec 89 p 4

[Elmaz Leci article: "How Tardily Moscow Remembered to Condemn the Invasion of Afghanistan"]

[Text] At its most recent meeting, the Soviet parliament denounced the decision made 10 years earlier to invade Afghanistan. It called the dispatch of Soviet military forces to Afghanistan a personal, not an objective, decision. According to the Soviet news agency TASS, the decision was not approved by the entire Soviet leadership of the time, but merely by four people: Leonid Brezhnev, then main leader of the party; Dmitriy Ustinov, then defense minister; Yuriy Andropov, then head of the KGB; and Andrey Gromyko, then foreign minister. After deploring the decision parliament took at that time, they produced a resolution stating that "The dispatch of Soviet troops to Afghanistan deserves moral and political condemnation."

The reasons why the present Soviet leadership has begun to condemn the invasion of Afghanistan involves the current situation in the Soviet Union and certain definite political interests. When this act of aggression was carried out 10 years ago, progressive and revolutionary forces strongly condemned it. Socialist Albania and world public opinion exposed this act from the very moment this fascist step was taken by Soviet social-imperialism in December 1979. The invasion of Afghanistan was condemned then and during the next 10 years as a product of the Soviet Union's expansionist policy and strategy. Calling it "fascist-style aggression, like the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968," a ZERI I POPULLIT editorial on 5 January 1980, entitled "Aggressors

Out of Afghanistan," called it "a new version of 1968 both from the military point of view, and in the arguments used to justify it." Time and the course of events has completely justified the correctness of our position and of world public opinion's condemnation of the Soviet act of aggression against the Afghan people. Moscow's present confession that this act was an invasion shows once again how right the position was of those forces who denounced the Soviet aggression, called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and supported the Afghan people's just struggle for freedom and independence.

The present Soviet leadership's condemnation of the decision to embark on aggression does not go so far as to condemn the official policy of the leadership of that time. The present Soviet leadership takes pains to lay the blame on four persons. However, their deeds cannot be separated from Soviet policy and, therefore, the entire course, policy, and strategy of the Soviet revisionist party must be condemned, something the Gorbachevite leadership is not doing, and cannot do. It is precisely by condemning a few individuals that the Gorbachevite leadership is trying to save the entire revisionist and social-imperialist policy from being discredited, one of whose consequences was the invasion of Afghanistan. It is now trying to exploit the repudiation of this decision to invade both domestically and abroad. The leadership needs it not only to overcome the Soviet Union's reputation of being an invader, but to hasten perestroyka, to win political capital among its East European allies, to make them believe the Gorbachevite promises that there will be no more interference, and in order to act on the promises of the Malta summit. Under such circumstances, Gorbachev and his team are making such tactical retreats as the repudiation of the invasion of Afghanistan.

The Soviet social-imperialists waged war in Afghanistan for almost 10 years. They caused destruction and ruin, but were also killed themselves; 15,000 Soviet officers and soldiers left their bones in Afghan soil. A total of 37,000 were injured and crippled. The Soviet economy was damaged to the tune of billions of rubles. Four dead people are held responsible for all this. This is the excuse for domestic public opinion, of which Gorbachev and his team become increasingly fearful everyday. So that they could fully extricate themselves and in order not to leave room for misunderstanding, Aleksandr Zhasokhov, temporary chairman of the parliament's Foreign Relations Committee, was given to say: "The condemnation casts no shadow on Soviet officers and soldiers, who honorably performed their duty" in Afghanistan.

It has been admitted that both acts of aggression, against Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, were violations of sovereignty. Both confessions are tardy, and extracted under the pressure of recent events in East Europe and in order to urge them further forward. It is becoming clear to the peoples that the aim of the aggressors' self-criticism is to throw dust in their eyes, and that Moscow uses such means to distract the peoples' attention from the unchanged Soviet policy of sharing out zones of influence with the United States. It is not coincidental that the repudiation of the aggression against Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan comes after the Malta Summit of Bush and Gorbachev, which showed once again the superpowers' aim of dominating other peoples and states.

UDF Rejects Charge of Anticommunism

AU1901213990 Sofia BTA in English
2024 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) rejected today the accusations of anticommunism made in the last days by RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the BCP daily, and yesterday by Mr Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

The UDF started "round-table" talks with representatives of the ruling BCP and BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union]. Due to the fact that the official authorities did not fulfill the demands of the opposition union for premises and due to the delayed decision for issuing of newspaper, the talks could not start in their essence at the former three meetings.

A spokesman of the UDF said tonight on TV that the "round-table" talks are doomed to fail if the ideas and content implied were not specified.

"Anticommunism is a vague and dangerous notion. This accusation destroyed in the past thousands of loyal Communists and a much larger number of non-communists," the declaration says.

It is stressed that the Union is an opposition coalition, due to which it does not denominate communism. "The UDF is necessary for the Bulgarian society only if it opposes decisively the totalitarian communism which the BCP has been practicing for more than 40 years. We think that this social model is still dominating in Bulgaria," the declaration reads.

It says that in a democratic situation it is only normal and necessary to express disagreement with the ideology and practice of the opponent.

The slogans "Down With the BCP" raised by some of the participants at the last rally of the UDF in Sofia last Sunday were determined in the declaration as "a normal assessment of the ruling party policy."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO and Andrey Lukanov assessed this slogan as anticommunist.

"If this slogan is accepted as anticommunist," the declaration reads, there should be a sign of equality between the existence of a party and its being in power. The tempestuous discontent is based, according to us, on the fact that a single-party power determines a single-party responsibility."

It is stressed that the accusation of anticommunism can be addressed only at persons and organizations which appeal for physical retribution with the Communists and forbid their party's activity.

UDF: Roundtable Needed for Democratic Transition

AU2101203190 Sofia BTA in English
1859 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 21 (BTA)—The Union of the Democratic Forces (UDF) accepts the national roundtable as a necessary stage in the peaceful approach, as an all-nation forum for democracy and prosperity in Bulgaria, the statement of the union reads, voiced tonight by its representative on the national TV.

The declaration appeals at the delegation of the "governmental block" to acknowledge officially the oppositional political parties and organizations as an opposition.

Demands are placed: The ruling parties should state clearly what kinds of society they are striving at—is it democracy in general or is it some particular type of democracy, which is always more restricted; the government and the individual institutions should open archives and banks with secret information, without the access to which it is impossible to create alternative programs.

The union program is one of the Eastern European options for a peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy, the statement reads, and specifies that the government has also declared a willingness to render active cooperation to the UDF in the preparation of really free elections, a representative of the UDF said.

Union Official Wants To Join Roundtable

AU1901112890 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
17 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by Kosta Andreev, "member of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions": "Roundtable For Two?"]

[Text] We were all pleased with the idea of a roundtable. We thought that we were also becoming a civilized country. However, even before we had taken our places around the table a big "but" emerged. It is difficult to say how it emerged. We do not want to enter the sphere of politics. However, the result was this: It has been agreed that for the time being that the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions will not take part in the roundtable. This is a general conclusion reached by the two ruling parties. Perhaps somebody insisted on this. We do not know. However, it appears that the wishes of those who demanded this were decisive.

Thus comrades, members of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, other people are again trying to determine our destiny. Inertia is a powerful force. However, are there not too many relapses of the command system, which used to reign in the past, when some people allowed themselves to speak on our behalf too often and too much, or adopt decisions that were important for the country without asking as?

We do not think that the reform forces in our country have not noted the mistakes of the past. Furthermore, we believe that they are sincerely striving to correct them. However, we think that while correcting some mistakes they are making new ones because the problems that our society is confronted with can be resolved only by the activities and brains of all strata of the people, organizations, and movements, and, above all, by the actions of the working people. Every division into "our people" and "your people" in this sphere leads to a dead end. In fact, it was this division that brought us to the crisis in which we find ourselves. Obviously, the important thing now is not where we come from, but where we are heading for. If anybody thinks that he alone can make the Bulgarian people happy, he will be repeating the mistakes of the past. Why then were all those promises for democracy, tolerance, and respect for those who think differently made?

However, already with the first attempt to reach national consensus at the roundtable, we have divided ourselves again. The Provisional Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions regards this as a very sad fact of our political reality. It is at least an indication of our rather low level of political culture and civilization.

Therefore, yesterday Krasimir Dimitrov, worker at Vratsa's "Khimko" plant and member of the Provisional Executive Committee, and I were instructed to brief the privileged participants in the roundtable on the position of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions. One of the members of our delegation was not allowed in the National Assembly building. Probably the same would have happened to me if I were not a National Assembly member. However, this was not all. I could not announce our position directly at the roundtable, because the participants were not inclined to listen. Therefore, I handed the protest to the leaders of the two political forces. The protest states that the Provisional Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions maintains its right to publish its content.

This is what we are doing today. We think that we will be correctly understood. We are guided solely by the interests of the country and the will of our members, who expressed their attitude toward the roundtable during the trade union referendum. By the way, not a single participant in the roundtable has asked the people he represents what they actually want.

This is mentioned as an aside, but perhaps in this case it is the main thing.

Differences Reported at 16 Jan Roundtable Talks

AU2001215790

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 16 January on pages 1 and 2 carries a 2,000-word report by Mila Manova, Vasil Kh. Popov, and Dilyan Todorov entitled "Desire For Dialogue Exists," summarizing the first session of the roundtable talks held on 16 January in the National Assembly between delegations of the ruling Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (BZNS), independent National Assembly deputies, and the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).

The reporters stress that "throughout the report we do not quote verbatum what was said, but the sense has not been changed."

According to the report, after photographs the session began at 1437 with the election of Andrey Lukanov as chairman of the session. Zhelyu Zhelev of the UDF then demanded that its demands for a UDF newspaper, the provision of premises for the UDF Coordinating Council, and direct transmission of the roundtable talks on radio and television should be settled before the UDF was willing to start the talks proper. Lukanov is reported to have replied that "after consultations..., agreement has been reached to start publication of a UDF newspaper as soon as the representatives of the union have agreed...about newsprint, circulation, and where the paper would be printed." According to the report, Lukanov said that the question of the premises "has been discussed with the Sofia City People's Council, but there are some difficulties in finding a suitable building. However, he is sure that the building will be provided within a week." Regarding direct radio and television coverage, the report states that Lukanov said that "this is a procedural matter, agreement has been reached on it, and it should not be discussed again." He is reported to have added that "the ruling parties are not against...once more discussing the possibility of granting wide opportunities for the electronic mass media to report on the course of the debates."

The report then states that Zhelyu Zhelev "categorically declared: This does not satisfy us," adding that "my colleagues and I would find it difficult to decide on starting work under such conditions as those being provided for us." According to the report, an argument developed, which ended with Zhelev asking for a recess in order for the UDF representatives to hold consultations. During the 15-minute recess, the report states that "Rosen Karadimov, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, attempted to read a declaration," demanding that his organization should participate in the talks, a request which was strongly rejected by Petko Simeonov (chairman of the Glasnost and Democracy Club of Sofia University). The report notes: "This first part of the session lasted for a total of 13 minutes."

Zhelev then stated that the UDF would continue the talks as a sign of goodwill, but insisted that journalists should be present, "because our access to the mass media is not yet been decided." Lukanov is reported to have objected to the last proposal on the grounds that "it has procedurally been decided that journalists should not be present, in order to ensure a calm and businesslike working atmosphere." He further stated that "no party should submit ultimatums" and proposed that a document should be signed following every agreement reached to prevent the further raising of issues already resolved.

Petko Simeonov once more insisted on meeting the UDF demands for its own newspaper, mentioning that in a RABOTNICHESKO DELO report on the UDF rally in Sofia on 15 January "slogans of an undefined group are interpreted as UDF slogans," although the UDF reported its own slogans in advance at the BTA. According to the report, Lukanov once more repeated that the question of the UDF's daily and weekly newspapers had already been positively resolved.

The report then states that at about 1645 hours, "the first session ended with an announcement that agreement had been reached that the next meeting would begin at 1000 hours on 18 January 1990 and would discuss the problem of the future of the political system in Bulgaria."

The report then summarizes statements by the spokesmen of the respective delegations: Georgi Spasov (UDF), Aleksandur Mirchev (BCP), and Ivan Glushkov (BZNS). It then reports on a news conference following the session, at which Rumen Vodenicharov commented, in connection with the issue of Komsomol participation: "The UDF does not object to the broadest strata of Bulgarian society participating in this nationwide dialogue. However, in our view, there are ruling parties, such as the BCP and the BZNS, on the one side, and a political opposition on the other. We regard all other structures of Bulgarian society as structures forming part of the state, a consequence of these structures, or their remnants. All those who define themselves as belonging to the political opposition are welcome to join us."

To the RABOTNICHESKO DELO question of whether a national dialogue of all social forces should necessarily result in confrontation and whether the entire country and people should be divided into an "opposition" and an "official" society, Spasov replied that "in our view all state-formed, so-called sociopolitical and mass organizations are totalitarian structures," and that "through a peaceful transition on the basis of these structures, we should create alternative structures of civic society that, instead of being subordinated to the party and state, should control this monster which is called the state."

The reporters sum up the results of the first talks as follows: "We can say that the real debates are yet to begin."

Leaders Explain New Republican Party Goals

AU2201110890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] The number of new political parties in Bulgaria is growing rapidly. Today we were informed about the establishment of a Republican Party. Its political and economic platform is outlined by its leaders, Professor Aleksandur Popov, doctor of economic science and chairman of the party, and Deputy Chairman Professor Siyka Georgieva, doctor of economy.

[Begin Popov recording] The Bulgarian Republican Party is an independent political force that implements its goals and tasks as a separate judicial entity, headed by a presidency. All Bulgarian citizens who support the idea of a democratic republic which promotes freedom of belief, speech, press, assembly, and association, and lack of control thereof, as well as lack of control over correspondence, telephone conversations, travel, and the selection of work and place of residence can be members of the party.

The Republican Party opposes totalitarianism. It accepts the Bulgarian people as the sole absolute sovereign factor. Nobody can limit or seize this right of the people. No person or political and cultural organization can identify themselves with the Bulgarian people and rule or administer in their name if they have not been elected in accordance with the order established by the Constitution.

The basic goal of the Republican Party is to build Bulgaria as a democratic, parliamentary, and law-governed republic; the creation of a society that enjoys a high material and intellectual standard; and the free development and expression of all citizens as equal persons. It strives to participate in the country's sociopolitical life under conditions of total openness and glasnost, while cooperating with other progressive political social forces that have similar goals and tasks.

The Republican Party will base its activity on the following basic principles:

—Defense of human rights and development and expression of personality under conditions of guaranteed security and respect for everyone, regardless of his political, national, and religious affiliation or his material status;

—Defense of the constitutional-parliamentary form of government as the only way of constructing a real democratic and law-governed republic;

—Creating an atmosphere of confidence, glasnost, and peace among the members of society, and lasting peace among nations. In this context, the party supports the measures on disarmament, friendship, cooperation, and mutually beneficial economic and cultural initiatives;

—Firm support for the multiparty system and pluralism as the only possible democratic system for ruling the country;

—Recognition of the existence of an opposition as an alternative to the government and a source of new ideas and permanent control over the government;

The Republican Party also believes in the separation of party and state power and the formation of parties on the basis of the territorial principle alone. It believes that the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, the courts, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the Committee on Television and Radio, and BTA must be depoliticized. [end recording]

[Begin Georgieva recording] The Republican Party proposes that the national government direct its attention in several directions:

—Regulating the balances of interbranch relations—who gives what to whom, and who receives what from whom. If possible, this must be done by computer equipment.

—Working out a long-term strategy on power supply and balance;

—Sharply increasing the quantity and quality of consumer goods;

—Regulating the balances of the new capacities of national importance. In this context, multivariant planning and profound economic-technical analysis of the plans on constructing new capacities of national importance must be introduced;

—Personal responsibility on the part of persons and institutes that propose, plan, construct, and utilize the national capacities where the greatest capital investments are vested;

—Merging the national economic and territorial strategies;

—Decentralization of the cities' capacities and activities, especially those of the former okrug cities;

—Delegating economic and social functions;

—Constructing small and medium-size economic enterprises in smaller towns;

—Gradually redirecting the current of urbanization from the city to the village. [end recording]

Commission Views Constitutional Changes

AU1901193490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] The commission elected by the National Assembly to prepare, jointly with the State Council, a draft law on amending the Bulgarian Constitution held its first meeting in Sofia today. State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov, the chairman of the commission, made a speech.

The commission examined a draft law on the most urgent amendments and additions to the Constitution connected with the repeal of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution and the forthcoming elections.

A decision was adopted to submit the draft law to the National Assembly. The draft law on amendments and additions to the Constitution will be published in the press during the next few days.

'Several' Municipal BCP Conferences Held

AU2101210090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Several municipal Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] organizations held their conferences today.

The accountability-election conferences in Khaskovo and Kurdzhali ended with the election of new leading organs and the nomination of delegates to the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress.

The Communists of the Ruse Municipal BCP organization pursued their dialogue on the party's and country's future development. It was stated with painful regret that the majority of cadres in the municipality, including those from the Municipal BCP Committee, were unprepared for the radical changes and that the processes of renewal are proceeding slowly and in a contradictory manner.

The Ruse Municipal BCP organization declared itself in favor of radical change in all its activities. The unanimous view was expressed that revolutionary renewal and democratization of society can be implemented only through honest dialogue and in consensus with all progressive, social forces.

Following 11 hours of debates, the Sixth Accountability-Election Conference of the Shumen party organization decided to resume its work on 23 January. The Vratsa party organization also decided to resume its conference on the same date.

In a declaration adopted at their accountability-election conference, the Sliven Communists committed themselves to an obligatory system of limited terms of office, to political pluralism, and to a socialist path of the country's development.

The decision on the nationality issue adopted on 29 December 1989 was accepted as basically correct.

The Communists from Vidin declared themselves in favor of a depolitization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs, the Municipal People's Council, and the Prosecutor's Office.

The veterans and representatives of the Municipal BCP Organization, who are backing the platforms of the BCP's Alternative Socialist Platform and other theoretical movements, expressed concern in connection with the requirements for the party's accelerated renewal.

The unanimous view to punish those directly responsible for distortions and abuses in party work was expressed at the conference of the Silistra BCP Municipal Organization.

The conferences in Tutrakan, Dulovo, and Khitovo proceeded in the same spirit. In analyzing the topical problems, the Communists in the aforementioned municipal committees also devoted attention to the socioeconomic development of their areas.

Kurdzhali 'Shortcomings'

AU2101180790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] The Second Accountability-Election Conference of the Municipal Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Organization in Kurdzhali ended its two-day session today.

The report and the ensuing debates assessed that despite the shortcomings and weaknesses resulting from the abuses committed in the past, the real successes achieved show that the overwhelming majority of Communists in the municipality have preserved their lofty sense of civic responsibility.

It was also pointed out at the conference that, as a result of shortcomings in ideological work, the Bulgarian population in Kurdzhali did not respond to the 29 December 1989 decisions of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers with the necessary political and socio-psychological readiness. Along with this, the Communists of the Kurdzhali Municipality urged that the requirement of widely investigating the opinon of the local population and of consulting the local, primary party organization should be an absolute prerequisite in discussing decisions on particularly important issues involving the development of the municipality.

New leading organs of the Kurdzhali Municipal Party Organization and delegates to the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress were elected.

Milcho Milchev was reelected by an overwhelming majority to the post of first secretary of the Kurdzhali Municipal BCP Committee.

Mladenov At Stara Zagora

AU2001191690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] In Stara Zagora today, a conference of the municipal organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] began its work. Comrade Petur Mladenov is attending the conference.

The conference is discussing the political platform of the Stara Zagora municipal BCP organization. In his introductory speech, [first name indistinct] Nanev, first secretary of the Stara Zagora Municipal BCP Committee, emphasized that the aim of the conference was for the delegates from the party committees and organizations to hold a wide, free discussion, and to express their support for the course adopted on 10 November 1989 for a resolute restructuring, the implementation of concrete radical changes in the political, intellectual, and socioeconomic spheres of society and in the BCP itself, and the elimination of authoritarianism, dictate, and bureaucracy in all their forms.

Mladenov Address

AU2001201790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] In Stara Zagora today, the municipal organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] held an accountability-election conference.

In his speech, Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, who answered many questions from the delegates attending the conference, spoke about what the party had accomplished since the BCP Central Committee plenum of 10 November 1989. He described the tasks that the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee is now resolving on the eve of the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress. He expressed his satisfaction with the statements made by the delegates, and stressed that, irrespective of the differing opinions and views expressed, the main element in the statements was support for the line of the restructuring that had begun, and that the critical comments made would be carefully taken into account in future activity.

Later Petur Mladenov spoke about the distortions that had been permitted that had cut off the BCP from the people. He offered detailed arguments in support of the decision on the nationality problem adopted at the end of last year and pointed out the need to look for real ways for unity, for guaranteeing the full democracy that we are now constructing in our country.

Petur Mladenov indicated that, as early as at the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress, the BCP will provide answers to many questions that are of concern to all Communists and will ensure that the congress, which is expected to be a dynamic one, marks the start of an in-depth restructuring of the party.

Lukanov Speaks in Ruse

AU2001205790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Andrey Lukanov took part in the accountability-election conference of the Ruse municipal organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. He spoke about the main problems that will be discussed at the forthcoming 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress, on the process of the party's renewal at all levels, on the need for cooperation with the remaining real political forces in Bulgaria in the name of speedily building up Bulgaria as a democratic, law- governed state.

An accountability-election conference of the municipal BCP organization is also being held in Plovdiv. Pantaley Pachov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, is taking part in the conference.

At the very beginning, the proposed agenda was not accepted and the conference decided to focus its attention on electing the delegates to the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress because the problem of renewing the party and its future are of primary importance. It was decided that the election of the leading organs of the municipal party organization should take place next Saturday, 27 January.

New Local Democratic Organizations Formed

AU1201152290

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1400 GMT on 12 January reports the following provincial news on the formation of new local democratic and political bodies:

"In Gabrovo, a local Union of Democratic Forces has been established by representatives of the Alternative Democratic Club for Glasnost and Social Justice, the town organization of the Workers Social Democratic Party (United), the Independent Students Society, the Democracy Club of Independent Lecturers at the Higher Machine Building and Electrical Engineering Institute, and the Podkrepa Labor Federation. Its aim is to unite efforts in order to democratize sociopolitical life in the municipality."

"In the town of Devin, Plovdiv Oblast, an independent association called Equality of Rights, Glasnost, and Democracy has been formed," with the aim "of combating corruption and violation of the law, winning economic independence with Smolyan, creating local cadres, and further developing the town and the municipality."

There follows a recorded dispatch from correspondent Ivaylo Savov in Shumen. Savov reports that after the "rallies and heightened emotional tension at the end of last week, the situation in Shumen during the last few days has been much calmer. Some say that this is only on the surface, while others assert that a time has started of more sober evaluation of the sociopolitical situation in the country." Savov reports that enterprises and services are operating normally today, adding that "in contrast to other areas, here there are no difficulties connected with shortages of fuel materials." However, Savov reports that the town is subject to electricity rationing.

Savov reports that "the collection of signatures continues for a declaration of the Shumen Coordinating Committee for the Defense of National Unity," which protests against the method by which the ethnic decision of 29 December was adopted. Savov says that "about 10,000 of the 55,000 workers in the municipality have so far signed the declaration."

The next item reports the formation in Veliko Turnovo of "a town organization of the Bulgarian Green party," consisting of "74 persons from different sections of the population."

Finally, it is reported that "in Silistra a Union of Private Goods Producers has been formed, which combines the potential not only of the registered one-person companies, but also of citizens who work under the terms of Council of Ministers Decree No. 35."

National Ecological Club Formed in Sofia

AU1901212090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] A meeting was held in Sofia today to found a National Ecological Club, according to an idea of our outstanding scientists and specialists. The main purpose of the club is to provide competent professional help in overcoming the ecological crisis in Bulgaria. It will indicate the ways and means necessary to put right the damage inflicted on the environment and will try to act as a barrier to prevent new ecological mistakes.

According to the provisional statute adopted at the meeting, the club is being formed as an autonomous organization, independent of the state, political parties, and other public organizations. In its activity it does not aim to replace the state organs, but will enter into a dialogue with them and, if necessary, will exercise pressure by democratic means in order to achieve the appropriate results.

Among the opinions voiced by the participants in the meeting, the demand predominated that more attention should be given to ecological knowledge in the schools, higher education establishments, and in propaganda. The meeting elected a regulatory council, coordinators, and secretaries of the club.

Independent Miners Union To Form in Sofia

AU1901211890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Here is an announcement: A constituent meeting will take place at 1200 [1000 GMT] on 20 January at the [words indistinct] in Sofia to found the Bulgarian Miners Syndicalist Union, attached to the "Podkrepa" Independent Trade Union Federation.

Federation of Glasnost, Democracy Clubs Founded

AU2001164590 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 20 (BTA)—A Federation of the Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy was founded today by 19 clubs from Sofia and the country, who are members of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces.

The federation will apply to be registered.

Mr Petko Simeonov was elected chairman of the interim operative leadership.

17 Jan Events Throughout Country Noted

AU2201101390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jan 90 p 6

[Correspondents' reports: "17 January—Topical Chronicle"]

[Excerpts] Plovdiv, 17 January—The members of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions and the "Podkrepa" Labor Federation at the "I.L. Pavlov" Higher Medical Institute organized a real strike demanding that the wages of the institute's lecturers and specialists be increased and made equal to the wages of their colleagues at Sofia's Medical Academy. The representatives of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare who arrived here did not have the authorization to sign an agreement with the strike committee. The promise of Minister Mincho Peychev, made in a telephone call, that the issue will be resolved after the introduction of the state budget in March 1990, was not accepted.

The strike committee adopted a decision that only an official and written instruction of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare to equalize the wages with those of Sofia's Medical Academy as of 1 January 1990, can stop the strike. [passage omitted]

Sevlievo, 17 January—The Union of the Democratic Forces in Sevlievo organized a rally in defense of the processes of democracy and renewal. Representatives from Sofia, Gabrovo, Lovech, Troyan, and Veliko Turnovo took part in the rally. [passage omitted]

Sofia, 17 January—Today in Sofia's Doctors' Park, a rally in support of the Bulgarian medical workers in Libya took place. The Bulgarian medical workers in Libya have been conducting a hunger strike since the end of December. We informed you about a part of their demands in our 4 January issue in the article "Hunger Strike in ... Libya." Doctors and nurses who have worked in Libya spoke at the rally. Dr. Kondova, who returned a few days ago from Libya, said that none of the demands has been fulfilled so far. Most of the rebukes were directed at the "Medeksim" Bureau in Tripoli, Libya. Demands for the resignation of this organization's leaders, and the leaders of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare were voiced.

It was reported that the workers at the Srednogorie Hospital are conducting a 3-day symbolic strike, while the "Pirogov" Institute will conduct on 18 January a 2-hour warning strike in support of the demands of their colleagues in Libya.

Balkan Airline Pilots Call Off Strike

AU2101195790 Sofia BTA in English 1655 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 21 (BTA)—Pilots, engineers and technical personnel of Balkan airlines abandoned their intention for a warning strike declared for January 22. Last night on TV they excused themselves before the airlines passengers for the troubles they had put them to in relation with the flights on this date.

The warning strike is postponed due to preliminary achievements reached with the Ministry of Transport.

Printers Union Announces Warning Strike

AU2001220190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Summary From Poor Reception] "The meeting for founding the Independent Printers Union adopted a resolution addressed to the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers." The resolution states that the demands made at the end of 1989 express "the will of a large part of the Bulgarian workers class—the printing workers, who are aware of their responsibilities and honorably fulfill them."

The resolution later states that if the demands are not met, "as an extreme measure," "in order to achieve our just, legal, professional and social demands, we declare that on 24 January we will call a 2-hour warning general strike of the printing workers."

The resolution ends by stating that "if the National Assembly and the government remain indifferent toward the demands of the printing workers, then on 30 January we will declare a 24-hour general, national printing industry strike."

Results of Independent Union Members Poll

AU2001170190 Sofia BTA in English 1636 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 20 (BTA)—An announcement was received in the BTA about the results from the referendum which the independent Bulgarian trade unions held among their members on their preparations to participate in the national "round table."

Some 1,816,642 trade union members voted.

To the question should Bulgaria have beside the state enterprises cooperative, communal, private and other ones, 88 per cent gave yes for an answer while 10.9 per cent—no.

32.4 per cent of the respondents thought that there should be organizations of the political parties in the enterprises, institutions and institutes.

66.2 per cent were against that.

74.3 per cent stood for participation of the independent Bulgarian trade unions with their platform and candidates in the free elections, while 23.4 were against such kind of participation.

Doubt Shed on Zhivkov's Wartime Activities

AU1901142990 Sofia BTA in English
1334 GMT 19 Jan 90

["Was Todor Zhivkov an Agent-Provocateur?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—Todor Zhivkov took almost no part in the resistance movement before September 9, 1944, say antifascist fighters. There is no evidence of such activity on his part in the party archives, too. What is more, Zhivkov might have been an agent of the king's police. Aleksandur Aleksandrov, chairman of the Sofia City Commission for Investigation of Corruption and Abuses set up in parallel to the official commission at the end of last year, substantiates this assertion with some facts in his article published in OTECHESTVEN FRONT. The commission is made up of former intelligence agents, diplomats, jurists, journalists and fighters against fascism and capitalism.

It is mentioned in the article headlined "Was Todor Zhivkov an Agent-Provocateur?" that Zhivkov had a fake identity card in the name of Ivan Tomov dating from 1941. According to Georgi Chankov, a prominent figure in the revolutionary movement, the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] got such stamped non-filled blank forms as late as in August 1944. This suggests that Zhivkov's faked identity card was not given to him by the BCP.

The author spoke to living colleagues of Zhivkov's and was told that he had been seen with the chief of department with the State Security Service, Geshev, in the office of the director of the State Printing House.

In 1951-51 [date as received], by order of Vulko Chervenkov, commissions were set up all over the country to search for materials that might expose the people who had contacts with the police before September 9, 1944. Subjected to interrogation, the former chief of the Counterespionage Department with the State Security Service and an employee of the same department confirmed they had seen Todor Zhivkov enter Geshev's office on different occasions. The commission came upon strange facts. Part of the police archives had been ransacked. Anton Yugov, who became minister of the interior immediately after September 9, 1944, confirms that Todor Zhivkov showed interest in the archives of the police. Later on, after he spoke with Stalin, Chervenkov ordered the commission to discontinue its work related on the exposure of agent-provocateurs in the party.

Aleksandur Aleksandrov draws attention to what Tsola Dragoycheva wrote in her letter to the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP in December last year. She pointed out that Zhivkov felt inexplicable irritation whenever there was a mention of the problem of agent-provocateurs in the revolutionary movement before September 9, 1944.

Further on the author tells about his meetings with Aleksandur Sankov, an immigrant in Argentina and Geshev's agent before September 9, 1944. Sankov asserted that the resident of the German intelligence in Bulgaria, Dr Delius, was interested in one of Geshev's agents—Tomov, a worker at the State Printing House. The author associates this fact with Todor Zhivkov's faked identity card bearing the name of Ivan Tomov and adds that according to Sankov Delius had recruited 32-year-old Todor Zhivkov as an agent for the German intelligence service in a villa near Sofia.

In Lebanon Aleksandur Aleksandrov met and was on friendly terms with Eli Aoun, then colonel from the counterespionage, and with Michel Mansour, the owner of an Arab pastry shop. Aleksandrov believes that Mansour was actually Geshev in disguise. Eli Aoun told Aleksandrov that Mansour had been a prominent political figure in Bulgaria. Mansour had also mentioned before Eli Aoun that some people in Bulgaria, former agents of the police, then became leaders of the Communist regime in the country. Lastly, some friends of Aleksandrov's visited Bulgaria and he learnt from them that Geshev, having spent many years in the Middle East, had appeared in Argentina under an Arab name.

The author says that he has mentioned only some of the facts and that there are other witnesses who can help the investigation. The editorial staff of the OTECHESTVEN FRONT newspaper takes the stand that Todor Zhivkov can be declared an agent-provocateur only by adducing irrefutable facts.

Ecoglasnost Opposes Nuclear Plant Construction

AU1901122190 Sofia BTA in English
1119 GMT 19 Jan 90

["Against the Construction of Nuclear Power Station in Belene"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—Is it understood that in the present situation of the economy the realization of this project is an unsound luxury, that it is a senseless and impotent strategy to allot milliards of leva's worth for the construction of an absurd project? This is said in an open letter sent to the chairman of the Council of Ministers by the independent Ecoglasnost societies in Svishtov, Pleven and Veliko Turnovo in connection with the nuclear power-generation plant in Belene the construction of which has been resumed.

The construction of the second nuclear power-generation plant in the country in Belene (situated on the Danube near Svishtov) began in 1985. It is planned to build four 1000-megawatt units first, constructing later another two. The construction cost of the four power-generation units is expected to be about seven milliard leva. The reactor of the first unit had to be raised to a height of 13.20 m and its cost is 650 million leva. Of late the question has been brought up in the press whether the project in Belene is necessary and safe. On January 2 RABOTNICHESKO DELO published an article which said that according to the prevailing opinion of power engineers the construction of all the four power-generation units is absolutely necessary and best suited for the seismic conditions in Bulgaria, but some of them think that part of the facilities should be built in Kozloduy. There is also a view that using less powerful units is more suitable and cheaper. There are four 440-megawatt units and only one with a capacity of 1,000 megawatts in the nuclear power-generation plant in Kozloduy. Last year the nuclear power generation accounted for 35.6 per cent of the total electric output of the country.

In their letter the representatives of Ecoglasnost insist that the chairman of the Council of Ministers should attend the rally in Svishtov scheduled for January 21 and give a well-grounded answer to the points raised by the population of the region, which is greatly worried over the construction of the nuclear power-generation plant in Belene. It is pointed out that only this can prevent the strike. Ecoglasnost declares itself to be against ignoring the public opinion when such "fundamental" decisions of lasting consequences are concerned.

Work Begins at Kozloduy Plant

AU2001145590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] At the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, work has begun on installing the rotor in the turbine excitation unit of the No. 5 Generating Unit. Our correspondent Veselin Angelov reports that the rotor was repaired very quickly at the Nikola Vaptsarov Works in Pleven, and a well-organized plan has been set up at the Kozloduy plant to ensure its speedy installation. Work is proceeding continuously in three shifts, and specialists from the Atomenergoremont Company are taking part in the installation work.

1990 Trade Protocol Signed in Moscow

AU2001145790 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, January 20 (BTA corr.)—Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, and Mr Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, signed yesterday a protocol for goods exchange and payments between the two countries for 1990. It is planned that the volume of mutual deliveries of goods and services is to reach about 12 billion roubles. The USSR reserves priority as Bulgaria's trade partner.

The major needs of the Bulgarian economy for raw materials, materials and energy resources will, like last year, be provided through export from the USSR.

This year, too, the USSR will be the largest market for the Bulgarian machine building production, the export of which will reach about 2.8 billion roubles, including electronic and computer equipment to the amount of some 1 billion roubles. Significant place in the export take also the hoisting and handling machines, electronic and computer products, agricultural machines, communication equipment, etc. The export list includes the traditional supply of agricultural goods and products of the light industry.

USSR Ambassador Sharapov Presents Awards

AU0901233990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, 28 December (BTA)—Soviet medals "For Personal Courage" were presented to 16 Bulgarian citizens today. The decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium indicates that the awards symbolize the acknowledgement of "manly courage and selfless deeds accomplished in connection with overcoming the results of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR."

Remembering the tragic events of December 1988, USSR Ambassador Viktor Sharapov pointed out the great response of state leaders, public figures, religious circles, and private citizens to these events.

Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, expressed gratitude for the high awards on behalf of the government.

He stressed that Bulgarian-Soviet relations are pure, sincere, purpose-oriented, and meaningful. The restructuring processes under way in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in the USSR are having a beneficial influence upon their development.

Georgi Atanasov expressed the wish that 1990 may be successful and happy for our two countries and peoples.

Situation in Albania Appears 'Calm'

AU2201101990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jan 90 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Albania: The Visible Part of Life Is Calm"]

[Text] Tirana, 17 January (own information)—The reports of various sources claimed in recent weeks that disturbances have begun in several Albanian cities. The son of the former king of Albania, who is living in the United Arab Republic, said that "he will provide the funds for toppling the regime of Ramiz Alia." The reports prompted actions on the part of Albanian emigrants in Greece, who protested against the Albanian social system. The Albanian leader, Ramiz Alia, categorically denied the reports.

What is actually taking place in Albania? It is logical that if there were disturbances in several cities and if martial law has been declared, this would be felt in Tirana. However, according to eyewitnesses, the situation in Tirana continues to be calm. The citizens continue to calmly go to their work, stroll through the streets, and drink their coffee or cognac in the coffee shops. Generally, life is normal. The roads are calm and one does not notice any intensification of security measures.

Because of the country's geographic location, the citizens can watch Italian and Yugoslav television stations, thus the reports immediately reached hundreds of thousands of people. Those television programs are one of the main sources of information, because foreign newspapers cannot be sold in Albania, while the local newspapers are mainly distributed to subscribing enterprises. The Albanian Television, simultaneously with the ATA Press Agency, Tirana Radio and the newspapers, denied the reports on disturbances in Shkoder, Korce, Durres, and Vlore. The newscasts report the events in Eastern Europe without any commentary, while the internal political reports mostly contain information on labor collectives' successes in this decisive year for the implementation of the 5-Year Plan.

As far as the country's economic situation is concerned, recently the Council of Ministers adopted a special decision that gave the members of the cooperative and agrarian brigades the right to utilize the surplus of their production. This decision is related to the striving to improve the supply of meat and meat products. The situation in the market is normal for the local conditions—the most-needed goods usually can be found. Recently, one notices an increase in Albanian products that are being sold; however, the quantity of imported goods has also increased. Naturally, the important goods are much more expensive, and thus inaccessible for the majority of the population.

Recently, the government has attributed more attention to the people's social problems. The state allocates significantly more means for consumer goods. Some 9,000 apartments were constructed in 1989, and according to statistical data, the people's real income has increased.

Belchev, Khristov Meet FRG Party Leader

*AU0401091690 Sofia BTA in English
2005 GMT 3 Jan 90*

[Text] Sofia, January 3 (BTA)—There is no room for doubt about the Federal Government's readiness to cooperate with Bulgaria, said Graf Otto von Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party in the FRG. At talks he had here with government members he reaffirmed the support of his party and country for the reforms in Bulgaria and agreed that the future holds new promises for interaction.

Mr Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, and Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign economic relations, familiarized the guest with the country's economic situation and with the measures which will be taken soon to help it out of the crisis. In this connection an emphasis was laid on the government's stabilization programme which will be introduced for consideration in Parliament this month. It was emphasized that the program practically makes the first steps towards a transition to a market economy.

The Bulgarian ministers set forth their government's views on the expedience of redistributing investment in favor of agriculture which in the space of few years has turned from a traditional foreign-exchange earner into a large-scale spender of hard currency to the tune of 400 million dollars annually. It was indicated that the farming-related processing industry, as well as the light industry, the services sector and the infrastructure will develop on a priority basis. A hard line will be taken towards a drastic cut in government expenses and state subsidies for money-losing businesses and a price reform will be carried out.

In connection with the future of bilateral cooperation (it should be borne in mind that the capacities of conventional trade are almost used up), Mr Belcho Belchev noted the need to improve the mechanism of profit repatriation from Bulgaria and to introduce soon a realistic exchange rate of the Bulgarian lev against the Western currencies.

The ministers pointed out that these and the other measures included in the stabilization program are intended to overcome the difficulties arising from the country's foreign debt (8,000 million dollars net at present). The idea is to check the growth of the indebtedness this year and to start repayment in 1991.

Meeting With Lambsdorff

*AU0401130490 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Jan 90*

[Text] On 4 January, Petur Mladenov, chairman of the State Council, received Otto Lambsdorff, chairman of the FRG Free Democratic Party, who is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]. The meeting was attended by Angel Dimitrov, BZNS secretary, and Karl Walter Lewalter, FRG ambassador to Bulgaria.

Before the meeting, the guest had a talk with Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman.

Troop Withdrawal Talks With USSR Adjourn

LD1601165790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] The first round of Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on a Soviet troop withdrawal from our territory has ended in Prague. Preliminary discussion took place on political, military, international legal, financial, and other aspects of this problem. Our delegation submitted a draft of the agreement on the gradual withdrawal of Soviet troops, which contained specific dates and the draft for deciding the status of the troops before their withdrawal.

With regard to the fact that some issues require additional work, the two delegations agreed that the talks will be continued in the first week of February in Moscow, at the earliest. Ivan Aboimov, head of the Soviet delegation, was received today by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Viewed

AU2201114090 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 16 Jan 90 p 5

[Milan Vodicka commentary: "Temporariness Draws to an End"]

[Text] Yesterday talks began in Prague on just how long temporary is. Although the topic is more appropriate for philosophers, it was diplomats who sat around the table, and moreover, matters of an absolutely nonphilosophical nature—tanks, artillery, and men in uniforms—were the focus of their interest. At the end of the talks, a date should be set for the withdrawal of the last Soviet soldier from the republic's territory. A date which will bring to an end the temporariness that has become somewhat long and drawn out.

We know very well when it all started, since 21 August 1968 was a traumatic time in our most recent history. The act which inaugurated this temporariness has, step by step, been called intrusion, invasion, occupation, intervention, and then international assistance; a few weeks ago, the word invasion began to be used again. While this enumeration has no pretensions of being exhaustive, the main thing is that matters are once more being called by their correct names. Now we are in agreement with those who came "internationally" to us in their tanks that this was an assault and an act of aggression. All five participants in this event, who violated the most fundamental principles of international law and treaties, including the Warsaw Pact treaty and the UN Charter, have recanted and apologized for it.

This was not a formal act: in view of the fact that an apology also came from Moscow, there is no further reason for Soviet soldiers to remain on our soil.

The treaty concluded under pressure (and which is, therefore, invalid) in autumn 1968, on whose basis Soviet units have remained "temporarily" in our country for 22 years, will be rescinded in the foreseeable future. Primarily, this will mean a definitive end to the Brezhnev doctrine of Eastern Europe's limited sovereignty. Another plus will be the much desired exodus of military khaki from the middle of the continent. For us there will be a late moral and actual satisfaction and, finally, the partial return of matters to their original state.

Only the question of when the withdrawal of Soviet units will take place remains. Only one thing is certain: the tanks will not depart as quickly as they arrived. We are suggesting the end of this year as the latest date. In light of the fact that all the former ideological and strongly colored arguments about the threat to our Western borders have long been part of history, all circumstances are in favor of a speedy solution—except one. This is the impact of the withdrawal on the Soviet domestic scene. The returning columns of tanks, for some generals a sad symptom of the collapse of a former superpower empire, could cause a draught in some of the most senior circles at home.

Therefore, in connection with the current Prague talks, it will be necessary to talk not only about speed but also about moderation. A surgical incision is inappropriate and Prague is also not striving for this. However, the end result remains clear: a complete withdrawal, after which Czechoslovakia will become a truly independent state. There can be no talk about independence until this 22 year "temporariness" comes to an end and until the troops, whom no one invited, withdraw.

Soviet Crude Oil Deliveries To Resume

AU1801145990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jan 90 p 9

[Interview with Miroslav Cuker, LLD, first deputy minister of foreign trade, from the "Question" column]

[Text] [RUDE PRAVO] What is true about the widespread rumors that, as of now, the Soviet Union has stopped crude oil deliveries to our country and that it will proceed to sell crude oil solely for U.S. dollars?

[Cuker] According to the CSSR-USSR goods exchange protocol for 1990, this year the Soviet Union is to deliver roughly 16.6 million tons of crude oil to Czechoslovakia. Currently there is no joint agreement, nor is there any USSR demand to stop delivering, or to be paid by us for this year's crude oil deliveries than in anything other than convertible rubles. Our partner merely suggests that the deliveries planned for January be cut down roughly by one-fifth, in view of the Soviet Union's domestic difficulties in connection with crude oil extraction and utilization. The shortfall, which amounts to approximately 300,000 tons of crude oil, should be made up in the course of this year. During the negotiations held in Prague last week, Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, promised that the Soviet side would do its utmost to deliver the remainder of the crude oil as soon as possible.

Oil Imports From USSR Down 20 Percent

LD1901151290 Prague CTK in English
1140 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 19 (CTK)—Soviet oil supplies to Czechoslovakia in January are cut by 20 per cent (about 300,000 tonnes) because of the Soviet Union's failure to fulfil production targets, deputy department director of the Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Ministry Anton Manina has told CTK.

He added that the Soviet side had promised to deliver this amount within the course of this year.

Under a protocol on goods exchange for 1990 the Soviet Union will supply 16.6 million tonnes of oil to Czechoslovakia this year and Czechoslovakia will pay for it in transferable roubles, Manina said.

Czechoslovakia is after the GDR the largest buyer of Soviet oil from which some 5,000 products and semi-finished products. The USSR has been supplying Czechoslovakia with oil since 1947 under five-year trade contracts and annual protocols. While in 1957 the USSR was delivering one million tonnes of oil to Czechoslovakia in 1970 it was already 10 million tonnes, in the past ten years the annual oil deliveries have been reaching more than 16 million tonnes.

Armenians, Others Plan Soviet Embassy Rally

LD1901100290 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 0900 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Armenians living in Czechoslovakia, Soviet citizens living in Prague, representatives of Armenia (Club), and the Czechoslovak citizens will hold a protest demonstration at 1100 at the USSR Embassy in Prague. They intend to denounce the continuing anti-Armenian terror in Azerbaijan and to urgently ask the Soviet Government, the Supreme Soviet, and also Mikhail Gorbachev to adopt more effective and resolute measures for the protection of the lives of innocent people. They will hand a petition to the Soviet embassy representatives. The participants in the demonstrations are asking Prague citizens for their support.

Finance Minister Klaus Views Soviet Economy

AU2712223589 Paris AFP in English
2128 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, Dec 27 (AFP)—The Soviet Union is "the sick man of the East Bloc" in economic terms, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said in an interview with a French newspaper appearing Thursday.

Mr. Klaus told the TRIBUNE DE L'EXPANSION business daily that Moscow's economic reforms were "totally inadequate insofar as the Soviet economies are not capable of fulfilling their functions because their knowledge of the basic data of conventional economics is very limited". "The Soviet Union is really the sick man of the East Bloc's economic reforms," he said.

The Czechoslovak economy needed "demonopolising and restructuring", he added. Czechoslovakia needed to "bring up the market in the way that you bring up a child," he said. The country's new leaders must transform "a market that has been made totally inefficient by a monopolistic concentration of power" and set up a market-oriented economy, he said.

Asked whether Prague would grant true independence to Czechoslovak firms and set up an independent banking system, Mr. Klaus said the economy had to be opened to "internal and external" competition.

The Czechoslovak Government plans to launch five merchant banks next year. Mr. Klaus said the former government had paved the way for a loosening of state control over banks by starting to dismantle the "monobank" system.

Soviet Troops Reportedly Worsen Pollution

AU1901083690 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 16 Jan 90 p 2

[Milan Berta report: "We Await an Official Statement; Crude Oil Derivatives Threatening Sliac and Kovacova"]

[Summary] "Part of the Slovak National Uprising Airport in Sliac serves the needs of the Czechoslovak Airlines [CSA], which provides amenities for air transport within the state; another part serves the needs of the Soviet Army. And it is precisely in this second part of the airport that the situation can be said to be permanently precarious."

For years staff at the Slovak Water Economy Inspectorate in Banska Bystrica have been warning that the overflow of crude oil derivatives from the airport stores and the amounts of these substances that escape during handling represent a great threat to the Sliac and Kovacova health resorts, since they not only cause air pollution, but also seep underground. During three quarters of last year, 6,900 liters of crude oil derivatives were extracted from a single area of the airport, and the seepage to date is estimated at several hundred thousand liters. As far back as 1983, the inspectorate declared the situation in this area "permanently precarious."

"While no mistakes have been found in the handling of crude oil derivatives in the part operated by the CSA, far too many have been found in the part serving the Soviet Army." That is why a working group has been set up to rectify this adverse situation. At its first session on 16 November 1989, the group was told that "the intergovernmental treaties of 1968-69 contain no provisions for ecology. For this reason, neither penalties nor other measures can be imposed on the Soviet side. Only a mutual agreement could help in this serious situation; however, an agreement on equipment maintenance would also be a help."

The "Central Slovak Regional National Committee has asked the Office of the CSSR Government Plenipotentiary for the Affairs of the Temporary Stay of Soviet Troops in the CSSR for an official statement," containing instructions on how to proceed if the Soviet Army is found to be neglecting its duties in the field of water economy, and who is to be penalized and made responsible for rectifying the situation.

Russian Language To Lose Privileged Position

AU1512150889

[Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 7 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 700-word interview with Vaclav Senkyr, deputy minister of education, youth, and physical training of the Czech Socialist Republic, by Miroslava Vavirkova entitled "New Pages of Textbooks." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Senkyr provides information on the "methodological instructions" for primary and secondary schools which the ministry approved on 5 December, in response to the amendments to the CSSR Constitution passed by the Federal Assembly on 29 November. Changes in the educational system connected with the constitutional amendments are also the subject of a 400-word CTK report published by Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 14 December on page 4.

According to Senkyr, the changes concern the teaching of the subjects of civics, history, literature, geography, and languages as well as the "contents of defense education."

From next year, "the subject Russian language will change into the subject foreign language," which means that Russian will no longer have a privileged position and pupils will be able to chose between five foreign languages, depending on the availability of qualified teachers.

As for the teaching of civics, the students of all types of schools will receive no grades this year and the same is true of history in the seventh and eighth grades of primary schools. Moreover, all textbooks that "do not correspond to the present development of our society and some other states in Europe" will be gradually removed and replaced. In the meantime, UCITELSKE NOVINY, the teachers' paper, will publish "methodological materials" for teachers to use.

Asked about specific changes in the syllabuses of the subjects of history and civics, Senkyr says that "main emphasis will be laid on good knowledge of national history, particularly on its progressive, deeply democratic, and humanistic traditions." Senkyr does not provide any details on the nature of changes in defense education.

Mazowiecki Accepts Invitation To Visit 22 Jan

LD1801173990 Prague CTK in English
1625 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 18 (CTK)—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki will pay a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia on January 22, 1990, at the invitation of Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa.

Calfa Receives U.S. Congressman Solarz

LD2001014990 Prague CTK in English
2049 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 19 (CTK)—Visiting U.S. Congressman Stephan Solarz was interested during today's meeting with Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa above all in what the United States could do for Czechoslovakia to contribute to its political and economic consolidation.

The premier informed the American guest of the situation in Czechoslovakia and said inter alia that Czechoslovakia would appreciate the United States' favourable attitude towards its application for the admission to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and also a speedy granting of the most-favoured-nation clause.

Assembly Official Assesses Vienna Conference

LD2001165790 Prague CTK in English
1505 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Venice, Jan 20 (CTK correspondent)—Deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Zdenek Jicinsky has underlined the significance of the international conference of the Council of Europe which ended here today after setting up a commission for the development of democracy by way of law.

In an interview to CTK Zdenek Jicinsky stated that it is especially important today when not only West European countries but also the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, whose delegates attended the conference as observers, agree on the fact that the terms of democracy and law-observing state have the same meaning. Agreement on these basic political-legal questions makes it possible to develop effective contacts and cooperation in ensuring democratic development in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It also makes it possible to mutually evaluate both positive and negative experience from the functioning of various democratic institutions and this improve their activity, Zdenek Jicinsky said.

Austrian STANDARD Interviews Dienstbier

LD1801173190 Prague CTK in English
1527 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna, Jan 18 (CTK)—"Czechoslovakia is not afraid of reunified democratic Germany". Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said in an interview for the Austrian paper STANDARD.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister said that each nation has the right to determine its future. However, the process of unification of Europe should not lead to changes in the all-European context. Therefore, at first the German-Polish borders have to be recognized, he continued.

Jiri Dienstbier again rejected a federation with Poland. "We do not need any new blocs, on the contrary, we need a pluralistic Europe where each country with its contribution to the common cause is irreplaceable", he added.

Dienstbier Addresses Conference in Italy

LD2001014590 Prague CTK in English 2124 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Venice, Jan 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today voiced the hope that by Czechoslovakia's active participation in the work of the Council of Europe and by the building of democratic political structures in the country, conditions will be soon created for its admission to this international organization.

The minister was addressing a preparatory conference aimed at setting up a commission for the development of democracy by way of law which opened here today, attended by members of the Council of Europe and observers from a majority of East European countries. Also present was Italian President Francesco Cossiga.

Jiri Dienstbier stated that the work on a draft new Czechoslovak Constitution and other draft laws, which will be based on the democratic traditions of Czechoslovakia and also on the experience of the Council of Europe members, has already started.

The current political life in Europe is characterized by a high standard of culture in the solution of international problems and an advanced system of bilateral and multilateral talks and contacts. The future task for all European countries will be to build on these traditions and extend the advantages of cooperation to the whole of Europe. The Council of Europe can become a forum that would bring the countries of Western and Eastern Europe together in building a common European home, Jiri Dienstbier said.

The minister met here today with his Italian counterpart Gianni de Michelis, for talks mainly on the Italian minister's visit to Prague which should take place January 24.

Interviewed at Conference

LD2001101890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Excerpts] A conference on the development of law-governed democracy, attended by Italian Presidnet Cossiga, began today in Venice. It was organized by the Council of Europe, to which Czechoslovakia is seeking membership. Today Czechoslovakia is represented for the first time, having observer status for the time being, at this special conference of the council by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman Professor Zdenek Jicinsky.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr Minister, Czechoslovakia is attending this Council of Europe-sponsored (? meeting) for the first time in the role of observer. Is this merely a timely conicidence, or are there any particular reasons?

[Dienstbier] I think that it is interesting that I merely said at a press conference that we would like to join the Council of Europe, and I immediately received an invitation to the first event which is being held in the framework of the Council of Europe.

[Reporter] What contribution is Czechoslovakia going to make at this meeting—since I know you are going to make a speech?

[Dienstbier] It is only going to be a kind of introductory speech because the government has been in office for only a month now, but we have asked to be accepted into the Council of Europe as observers, and I hope that by the middle of this year we will succeed in becoming fully fledged members of the Council. For this to happen, of course, there needs to be changes in legislation, and these are being prepared for the first half of this year, and as soon as we meet the conditions—especially in respect of changes in legislation consistent with international pacts on human rights, we will be able to be accepted as fully fledged members of the council. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The conference on law-governed democracy ends tomorrow, when a Council of Europe commission with this same name will be set up. As you watch this report, the CSSR and Italian foreign ministers are discussing possibilities for stepping up bilateral ties.

Tomorrow, Jiri Dienstbier is expected to join the government delegation, which includes Carnogursky and Hromadka, and they will be received in the Vatican by Pope John Paul II.

Prague Proposed as New European Bank Headquarters

AU2201104190 Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Jan 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "A New Bank Is Established"]

[Text] Paris—A conference on establishing a European Bank for the renewal and development of East European countries began in Paris yesterday; Vaclav Kraus, CSSR finance minister, and Josef Tosovsky, chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank are participating in it on behalf of the CSSR. Vaclav Kraus made a speech on behalf of our delegation. He briefed the conference's participants on the new Czechoslovak Government's policy in implementing radical economic reforms and in opening up to the world and to Europe. He reported that the CSSR has officially requested admittance to the International Monetary Fund and to the World Bank. As far as founding a new European Bank for renewal and development is concerned, he said that Czechoslovakia welcomes its establishment and, at the same time, he proposed that its headquarters be in Prague.

Friends of Israel Society Founded in Prague

LD1801105690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] The Friends of Israel Society set up in Prague wants to renew traditional, good relations between the two countries. It also wants to strive for dissemination of truthful information about Israel, its life and problems. Rudolf Battek heads the preparatory committee.

Chilean Representatives Hold Talks in Prague

AU1801125290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report from the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Yesterday in Prague, Jiri Nemec, CSSR deputy minister for foreign trade, received representatives of the Chilean foreign ministry—Luis Winter, general director for political issues, and Manuel Casanueva, general director for economic issues. Subjects discussed at the meeting included the expansion of trade and economic cooperation between both countries and the gradual normalization of economic ties.

Yesterday, CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier received a delegation from the Chilean Foreign Ministry headed by Luis Winter, general director for political issues, in the Czernin Palace in Prague. The delegation is holding talks in Prague on establishing political and economic ties between the Republic of Chile and the CSSR.

Foreign Minister Receives Arab Envoys

AU1901095890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report frm the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, met the ambassadors of Arab states in Prague on Tuesday [17 January]. He confirmed the CSSR's permanent interest in a further development of the traditional mutually advantageous relations with all Arab countries. The Arab diplomats were also briefed on our foreign political activities in the area of the Middle East, including the current Czechoslovak-Israeli negotiatons on the renewal of diplomatic contacts.

Calfa Terminates CPCZ Membership

LD1801151890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] According to information given to journalists today at the regular news conference at office of the government presidium, CSSR Federal Premier Marian Calfa has terminated his membership in the CPCZ.

News Conference

LD1901204590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Representatives gave a news conference in Prague today to which they invited both Czechoslovak and foreign journalists. I have asked Jarmila Horakova, who attended the conference, what was on its agenda.

[Horakova] A CPCZ press spokesman announced that as of today another CPCZ Central Committee commission started work. Its task is to assess objectively the 1968-69 period and the ensuing period of Czechoslovakia's so-called normalization. It should submit the first results of its work at the May CPCZ congress.

Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa's decision to leave the CPCZ provoked the most interest, especially among foreign journalists. According to the CPCZ press spokesman, the national accord government, headed by Marian Calfa, had come into existence following roundtable talks last December during which it had been agreed that while a nonparty member and a Czech would be the republic's new president, a Slovak and a Communist Party representative would be the federal prime minister. As stated at today's news conference, Premier Calfa had not informed anyone in the Communist Party that he intended to quit the party.

Asked whether this apparent violation of the agreements reached during the roundtable talks would result in Premier Calfa's resignation or rather whether the Communist Party would demand his resignation, the Communist Party's spokesman failed to give a specific and unequivocal answer.

CPCZ Ready To Vacate Party Headquarters

AU1801143290

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 January on page 3 carries a 300-word "zr"-signed article entitled "Ministry of Transportation to the Quay?" The report states that the Civic Forum organization at the Ministry of Transportation and Communications demands that the building of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee on Ludvik Svoboda Quay in Prague be returned to the ministry. As the report explains, the CPCZ Central Committee acquired the building, which used to house the Ministry of Railroads, in 1960 in exchange for several houses on Na Prikope street. The RUDE PRAVO report quotes Vladimir Sokolik, CSSR deputy minister of transportation and communications, as saying that the ministry has advanced to the CPCZ Central Committee the offer of a swap for a 5,000-square-meter office building on Trida Politickych Veznu [Political Prisoners' Boulevard] and that "judging from past negotiations with the Central Committee it seems that the CPCZ leadership is interested in this building."

CPCZ Representatives Examine New Party Platform

LD1801050590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] representatives reported in Prague today about the principles of the new platform of the revived Communist Party, which is being drawn up. I ask (Jarmila Horakova), who took part in today's news conference for reporters, what are these principles and what should this Czechoslovak party, which was until recently the ruling party that in practical terms held the monopoly, be like in the future?

[Horakova] It should be an open, left-wing, democratic party with plurality of views, following all that is positive both in the history of the party itself and in the history of our state. It should be a party drawing from the rich positive experience of all other left-wing parties in the world. In practice, this means a true and objective evaluation of theoretical postulates and practice in the entire 70-year CPCZ history, it should be a kind of return to the nonconfrontational evolution model of politics. As was noted at the press conference, this evidently will lead also to re-evaluation of the events going back right to the beginning of the workers' movement.

In this context, all previous draft platforms and party documents appear unsuitable. The party will, then, be open to all and wishes to address all those who think in a democratic and left-wing manner, that is it will be a fully contributing part of our coalition democratic society.

The first step in this direction should be the founding of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, based on these new principles in the foreseeable future.

CPCZ Sends Message to LCY Congress

AU2201143590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jan 90 p 1

["(ZA)"-signed report: "Without Mutual Interference"]

[Text] Prague—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee has sent a message to delegates attending the 14th extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress. Among other things, the message says:

At its extraordinary congress last December our party discussed its transition into a modern left-wing party capable of positively influencing our society's development at the end of the 20th century and at the dawn of the 21st century.

We see both the level attained in and possibilities for cooperation between the CPCZ and LCY under completely new circumstances. We are prepared to continue to develop them on the principles of independence, equality, non-interference, each party's responsibility to the people of its country, respect for the various ways of constructing socialism, and the unique international standing that has enabled us to achieve a stable growth in trust and the level of mutual relations.

At the same time, practice has led us to a more profound understanding of the development processes in society and of the methods of dealing with them. This also applies to the course of action that the CPCZ chose in the conflict between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Cominform in 1948 as well as in the solution to the Czechoslovak events in 1968. Both cases involved interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, interference which had long-term unfavorable consequences.

Bilak Responds to Accusations

AU2812111589

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 22 December on page 2 carries a 400-word report on a "protest meeting" by some 600 people in front of the villa of Vasil Bilak, former secretary and member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, in Bratislava on 21 December. According to Ondera, the demonstrators came to "express their disagreement with the policy enforced by Vasil Bilak during his many years of activity in party posts." Addressing the demonstrators, Vasil Bilak reportedly "rejected direct responsibility for the entry by Warsaw Pact troops" in 1968, "dissociated himself from all accusations concerning his property affairs," and expressed disapproval of the police action against demonstrators on 17 November, calling it "terrible." Bilak also agreed to meet the protesters "on academic premises" for a discussion meeting and "did not rule out the possibility" of appearing in a television discussion along with Alexander Dubcek.

On 23 December, on page 4, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 900-word "Vasil Bilak's Letter to the PRAVDA Editorial Office," in which he responds to the referent Bratislava PRAVDA article on the "remarkable" circumstances of the purchase of his villa as well as to the "charges against him" contained in a television program broadcast on 17 December. In his letter, Bilak first voices the suspicion that the aim of the PRAVDA article and of the television program was to "carry out against me what one did not manage to carry out in 1968" when "demands were made for the death of Bilak, Indra, Kolder, and others" and when "quite many people were driven to commit suicide." He asks "how it tallies with the much-touted law-governed state when information media, including state television, publicly accuse citizens without specific and verified evidence." In Bilak's opinion, the article and the television program about him "have nothing in common with glasnost but are an ordinary lie."

Bilak goes on to deny the "insinuations" that he made himself guilty of "financial fraud" in purchasing his villa. He asserts that his sole income has been his "legal salary" of approximately Kcs120,000 to 150,000 a year and that he "never demanded any prerogatives or special services." Referring to the expensive reconstruction of the villa before he purchased it, Bilak says that in 1973 when the reconstruction started he "had no idea" that he would later move in and that, if the data about the reconstruction costs cited by PRAVDA are true, one should punish those who had "lined their pockets." He contends that he purchased the villa because the city "wanted to sell it" and that he did so on the basis of valid regulations and three cost estimates, paying Kcs2,200 per square meter. Responding to the television program about him, Bilak then rejects as "outrageous" the claim that he had special bread baked for himself and that he helped his son-in-law acquire a weekend cottage. He says that his son-in-law and his daughter are both "honestly working people" and that there is no reason why they should not own a cottage just like hundreds of thousands of other Czechoslovak citizens. Bilak asks: "My son-in-law must not own a cottage just because he is Bilak's son-in-law? Is this some kind of blood vengeance?"

In conclusion, Bilak voices his confidence that the future belongs to socialism and communism, even though "today there are so many critics of communism as though a worldwide prize had been offered for the one who comes up with, and ascribes to socialism, the most and the worst crimes."

Bilak's letter is followed by a 300-word response by Peter Ondera, in which he views Bilak's letter as evidence of the former party leadership members' "gradual detachment from the reality" and "loss of self-control, self-knowledge, and judgment." Ondera also protests against Bilak's contention that he "operated with lies" in his article of 12 December, stating that the entire article was based on official documents, many of them signed by Vasil Bilak himself.

CPCZ To Further Examine 1968 Events

LD1801050890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The Communist Party intends to reevaluate historical development from its beginnings, as well as the history of the labor movement. Jiri Machalik, secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, spoke about this at a news conference in Prague. He also said that a commission has been created which is concerning itself with the 1968-69 period. He concentrated mainly on the setting up of a new commission that is concerning iteself at the moment with the draft policy of the party. As he said, among other things it will draw on the experience of Western left-wing parties. It also wishes to make use of some of the approaches of the Democratic Forum of Communists.

Begins Investigation

LD1901220390 Prague CTK in English 2044 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee spokesman Josef Hora informed journalists here Friday about a letter sent by party Central Committee Secretary Ondrej Saling to Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher.

Ondrej Saling asked the minister for help in investigating an incident in the building of the district Communist Party Committee in Nymburk, central Bohemia. At least 300 persons from the Civic Forum allegedly penetrated the building and insulted workers of the district party committee on January 15.

In another part of the news conference party Central Committee Secretary Jiri Machalik briefed the newsmen on the establishment of a Central Committee commission for objective evaluation of the 1968-1969 events and the following development in Czechoslovakia.

The commission will also ask the communist parties' leaderships in the countries which sent their troops to Czechosloakia in August 1968 for access to their archives.

Answering the question of who had invited the Warsaw Treaty troops to Czechoslovakia, chairman of the commission, member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee Petr Novotny said that the names of those persons who allegedly invited the troops are among those whose party membership has been suspended at the party extraordinary congress last December.

Mohorita on Changing Party Tasks, Image

LD1701215390 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, asked for the opportunity to speak on the television news bulletin. Today, we are giving the floor to him.

[Mohorita] Esteemed fellow citizens! These days I have been receiving many letters. Dozens of peoople are telephoning us. Some are expressing their support for the new CPCZ policy and for its leadership; others call us names and yet others point to that which we must put right. In short, every person has his view, but this is the way of life. A number of writers turn to me with their personal declaration. For example, they explain why they left our party. They feel cheated and profoundly disappointed. Many honest and virtuous people, to whom their work and social activity never brought any advantages, are virtually shaken by the abuse of power by many other party members to the detriment of the party and the people of this land. I am answering these letters. I am not trying to convince their writers, but I am trying to explain to them that they are not leaving the Communist Party, with which they no longer wish to have anything in common, but that they are leaving a new party, which is being born and which is seeking its new face. This is the party, which in the words of action program never and by no means wishes to return to the shape and practices valid in its work before 17 November of last year.

I think the public knows little about the kind of party we wish to be. In the first place I would like to emphasize that we are realists. We are begining to work in quite new conditions. Only a short while ago the party knew mainly how to give orders, announce what is allowed or, on the contrary, what is not allowed. Party bodies were determining practically everything, starting with what and where will be produced, right up to what people ought to think. This is, of course, no longer possible today. It is a good thing it is not possible. All of us are learning many new things today. Our party is learning, among other things, how to resume its truly active political work, how to win and convince people, how to aim its efforts at regaining the lost trust, how to hold its ground in the competition with other political parties and forces and civic initiatives as their serious and equal partner which fully respects pluralism of views. Our party is, in the interest of common cause, ready for compromises because the interest of all is the most important thing for him and is above the narrow party interest; he behaves in an open and honest manner within the framework of laws and regulations valid for a democratic society. After all, we all wish to live in society like this.

In this society no one should be humiliated, no one should lose any esteem or be persecuted for his political views or civic stances. Let us judge each other according to the amount of good work we accomplish, according to our behavior and conduct, and not according to our party affiliation and our belief. Why should therefore experienced, capable, and professional people (?make success) of their work only thanks to their membership in our party? As it was unfortunately customary in our country in the past, personal accounts are frequently being settled at the same time. It is as if we were truly incorruptible. This is happening even at the time when genuine democracy is so much needed!

The point is that I am convinced that as there can be no democracy without pluralism, then pluralism cannot exist withotu a modern left-wing party, which our party wishes to be. We therefore intend to go into the elections with a clear program. We intend to take a corresponding position on the Czechoslovak political scene. We must not waste the chance to pursue a free, needed, and useful policy. We will pursue this policy with the people and for the people. Satisfaction and happiness can be neither dictated or prescribed. They have to be earned. This is for what we, members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, will strive.

Mohorita Attends Party District Meeting

AU1601114690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jan 90 p 2

[Vladimir Plzak report: "Support Among Rank and File Members"]

[Text] The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] District Committee in Sokolov invited Communists, as well as nonparty members, from the city and district to attend a meeting with Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the Miners' House of Culture. An assembly of more than 700 people welcomed the guest with tumultuous applause.

Comrade Mohorita characterized the situation in the party and its further course of action while preparing for its scheduled congress and the elections to legislative organs. In reply to one of the questions, he said that a point of view is being prepared on February 1948 which will be submitted to the Central Committee session on 17 February. He emphasized that this will be an objective evaluation of events and, hence, of those which were, for whatever reasons hushed up. The discussion's participants were interested in an explanation of the role of the Democratic Forum of Communists and in its position in the party. Some people conveyed their anxiety about whether the party is conceding too much during talks at the roundtable. They were given an assurance that the talks are being conducted correctly and without attempts to behave high-handedly. Vasil Mohorita acknowledged the criticism of one of the participants that the membership base is insufficiently informed from the center, and he promised an improvement. The establishment of a new internal party magazine will assist this.

A representative from the Fuel Combine in Vresov stated that the party purge is proceeding slowly and demanded that party representatives appear more often on television. The meeting's participants supported almost every statement made from the floor with applause of approval. It was the same when Comrade Mohorita emphasized that the party rejects the defamation of honest Communists. However, this does not mean that we should not say openly what we did not manage to achieve in the past. He also rejected the label of the party's collective guilt for past shortcomings. It was our mistake, he said, that we wanted to be responsible for everything and to control everything by directive.

In reply to further questions, he said that there is nothing worse than blind unity and a rash unanimous acceptance of what someone has determined beforehand. That would be playing at democracy. Vasil Mohorita expressed his conviction that the party has support, first and foremost, among rank and file members.

CPCZ Leaders Address Nationwide Conference

AU1201223990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jan 90 p 1

[Vaclav Pergl report: "Let Us Get Rid of the Burden of Past Deformations; From the Nationwide Conference of Leading Functionaries of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia District Committees"]

[Excerpts] A nationwide conference of leading functionaries of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] District Committees was held in the CPCZ Central Committee building in Prague on Monday [8 January]. It discussed the conclusions of the January session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the party's course of action in the days to come.

Comrades Ladislav Adamec and Vasil Mohorita spoke on these issues. From their words it arose, for example, that in preparing for the elections it is necessary to get rid of the burden of past deformations, which have been so damaging to the party's authority. The party must prove by all its actions that, in the center and in individual localities, it has the right to be a full-fledged participant in the democratic process. We shall not take the path of whipping up opposition moods but the path of efforts at dialogue, cooperation, and political and economic consolidation. For this to happen it is necessary to regain trust everywhere and to start working.

The participants' discussion concentrated mainly on the implementation of the action program in individual localities, on practical questions concerning changes in the party structure and the conduct of the CPCZ's economic affairs, but also on cleansing the party of politically compromised functionaries and on preparations for the elections to representative bodies. [passage omitted]

Jaroslava Vicarova from Trutnov spoke about the experiences of the CPCZ District Committee when it wanted to contribute to a qualified decision on the use of the CPCZ District Committee's building. It opened its doors to the general public. In 4 hours about 10,000 to 12,000 citizens came to see the building—many of them really came in order to ponder its further utilization, but others had different things in mind. They hurled gross insults at members of the staff, used telephones for private conversations, destroyed the telex, stole belongings from employees' briefcases and literature from the library. [passage omitted] We are now in the process of estimating the damage. [passage omitted]

Within the framework of the conference, the economists of CPCZ District Committees held a separate consultative meeting.

In conclusion, Comrade Mohorita and other functionaries replied to numerous questions concerning the internal life of the party and its operation within a system of political pluralism. The participants also considered the possibility of postponing the scheduled date of regular CPCZ district conferences.

Mohorita on Party Election Preparations, Chances

AU1201144390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czec 5 Jan 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, by Vaclav Pergl in Prague; date not given: "It Is Unwise To Speculate on Figures"]

[Text] In Prague, and also elsewhere in our republic, posters about free elections have appeared. Various parties or movements are giving advice in leaflets on what steps to take to ensure that there are few communists among the candidates. What does Comrade Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, think about this? He said:

In the leaflets there are many different opinions about the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its members, and functionaries. However, in no way will our party enter the elections with an inferiority complex. It wants to participate in them as one of the parties in our pluralist political system and it wants to participate with all its rights, rights that we respect in others.

[Pergl] How is the CPCZ preparing for the elections?

[Mohorita] A CPCZ Central Committee commission responsible for preparing for the elections will be established at Saturday's [6 January] CPCZ Central Committee session. The commission will submit proposals for the party's electoral program and for everything through which we will enter the elections. Through the medium of Communist deputies we will participate in actively influencing preparations for the new electoral laws. We will also be active in discussions regarding the date of the elections. Besides this, we have our own election fund to which contributions are continually being made.

[Pergl] Is it possible to say something specific about the date of the elections?

[Mohorita] Not yet. Nothing has been said about this anywhere. I personally think that the elections will take place during the first half of this year.

[Pergl] What about the selection of candidates for deputies representing the Communist Party? What kind of people should they be?

[Mohorita] They should be matter-of-fact and competent people who command general respect and recognition among their fellow citizens. We have to find such people and prepare them for a deputy's work. It is necessary to begin looking for such people straightaway.

[Pergl] According to you, what percentage of the vote should the CPCZ gain?

[Mohorita] It is unwise to speculate on figures. Our party, even though it is losing members, will not disappear from the political map of Czechoslovakia. We still have a strong membership base and sufficient supporters. New people are joining our ranks even during these days. We are aware that many of our fellow citizens have no faith in the party's policy. Therefore, all guesses about the percentage of voters won over may be wild ones. It also depends on how the overall political situation will develop and how the party will conduct itself in this. Today we can only assume that we will gain 5, 10, 20, or more percent. In any case, we want to conduct an honorable campaign in order to ensure that our party has a full say in the newly elected representative committees.

[Pergl] You receive foreign journalists every day. Do they also ask for your opinion on the elections?

[Mohorita] Yes, practically all of them do. For example, Austrian Radio and Television stated in an interview with me that they estimate the maximum range of our electoral success to be 30 percent. Of course, other foreign journalists are also mainly interested in a figure. That is, what percentage the Communists will gain. I repeat once more: First and foremost, our work in the period leading up to the elections will decide this issue.

[Pergl] Thank you for the interview.

Removal of Communist Symbols Continues

AU0901125790

[Editorial Report] The Czechoslovak press between 21 and 30 December continues to publish reports on the removal and replacement of communist symbols in various parts of the country.

Prague PRACE in Czech on 21 December on page 3, under the headline "The Last Stalin," publishes a 250-word interview with Milos Ulman, chairman of the national committee in Komarov in Beroun district. The interview deals with the fate of a Stalin monument which continues to stand in the village "even though it sounds almost incredible." Ulman notes that the future of the monument, which had been installed in Komarov in 1949 and "is probably the last Stalin monument existing in a public place" in Czechoslovakia, will be decided in a referendum of Komarov residents in January. According to Ulman, one possibility is selling the monument to the West; a number of prospective buyers have reportedly shown their interest in purchasing the "larger-than-life" statue.

On 22 December, on page 3, PRACE carries a 300-word "vsv"-signed article entitled "The Last Stalin?" The author corrects the earlier PRACE article, on the basis of PRACE readers' phone calls received in response to its publication. According to the article, a Stalin statue had until recently been installed on the "Garden of Bohemia" exhibition grounds in Litomerice, from where it was removed on 7 December. Its further fate is to be decided in a "public debate." Another Stalin statue had been removed from Sumperk "2 weeks ago." Finally, a sculptural group consisting of Stalin and Lenin reportedly continues to dominate the Great October Socialist Revolution Square in Olomouc. An Olomouc city official is quoted as having told PRACE that he has already asked the district gallery "to deliver its opinion on how to take down and deposit this monument." According to the official, the Olomouc authorities would like to replace it with a Masaryk monument that used to stand in Olomouc until the early fifties.

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 28 December on page 2 carries a 300-word Mikulas Jesensky article entitled "The Fall of the Last Zhdanov." The article mentions that "after Christmas" the street signs were removed from the country's "probably last Zhdanov street" in Kosice. According to Jesensky, the street will most likely be named after the composer Jozef Gresak or after the Kosice Philharmonic, whose concert hall is located in the street.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 29 December on page 1 carries a 100-word "si, jes"-signed report entitled "Statues Into the Warehouse." The report describes the removal of two statues from public places in Ostrava on 28 December—a Klement Gottwald statue which used to stand in front of the building of the management of the Vitkovice Iron Works and the statue of a "militia man" which used to stand in the city's main square—the former People's Militia Square, which has recently been renamed Masaryk Square.

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 30 December on page 4 reports that, on the basis of a signature-gathering campaign, a statue of Klement Gottwald has been removed from the "Victorious February" housing estate in Ceske Budejovice.

Daily Interviews CPCZ's Karel Urbanek

AU0901130090

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 January on page 6 carries an undated 600-word interview with Karel Urbanek, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Control and Auditing Commission, by Vaclav Pergl entitled "Personal Pensions Are Unjust." In the interview, Urbanek first responds to Pergl's question about the control commission's role in "purging the party of politically and morally discredited people." Urbanek replies that the commission currently has "completely different tasks," such as auditing the conduct of economic affairs by party bodies, organizations, and institutions and processing complaints concerning party membership issues and internal party life. According to Urbanek, the tasks raised in Pergl's question are to be dealt with by a special commission of the CPCZ Central Committee, which is yet to be appointed and which will not include any members of the party apparatus, that is, including himself. In another question, Urbanek is asked about his opinion regarding the "personal pensions" being paid to "functionaries of party, state, and social organizations." Urbanek says that he is in favor of abolishing these "unjust" pensions, which reportedly "range between Kcs5,000 and Kcs10,000 a month and, in individual cases, are even higher." He adds, however, that this issue is within the jurisdiction of the government.

CPCZ Members in Minority in CSAV Presidium

AU1312143689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Resigned"]

[Text] Prague— The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences [CSAV] resigned at its extraordinary session in Prague on Wednesday [6 December]. At the same time the departing Presidium approved a proposal for the composition of the body that will control the academy until a new law on the CSAV is drawn up. This proposal is based on conclusions reached by a consultative group made up of CSAV members, including Civic Forum representatives.

Of the 19 proposed members of the new supreme CSAV body, 11 are without political affiliation and 8 are Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] members. An additional 6 members representing the Slovak Academy of Sciences will be proposed shortly. Only 4 members of the newly proposed body worked in the previous 25-member CSAV Presidium. In line with the law on the CSAV, all these proposals will be submitted to the Federal Government.

The Presidium also discussed the further course of action in rehabilitating CSAV members, employees, and workplaces persecuted for political reasons in the past. The rehabilitation concerns everyone without exception. The organizational and legal aspects of this process are therefore being discussed at present.

Bohemian CPCZ Regional Committee Reshuffle

AU1412212989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)—The Central Bohemian Regional Committee of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] held an extraordinary session in Prague on Wednesday, 6 December, in the evening. It discussed the present complex political situation in the region and cadre issues.

The CPCZ Regional Committee expressed its support for the Program of Action of the CPCZ. It also expressed agreement with the unanimous decision of the members of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CPCZ Regional Committee to resign from their functions. It elected new members of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CPCZ Regional Committee. It also released Josef Haman from the plenum of the CPCZ Regional Committee. It elected Vaclav Keller, the present secretary of the CPCZ Regional Committee for agriculture, as the new leading secretary.

Carnogursky Believes CP Will Not Regain Power

AU1501155590 Vienna AZ in German 13 Jan 90 p 9

[Interview with Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky by Margaretha Kopeinig in Vienna; date not given: "Return of the Old Power Is Impossible"]

[Text] AZ: Will the CSSR become the first country to turn its back on CEMA?

Carnogursky: Well, it is not our primary objective to leave CEMA, but to transform it into an efficient economic community.

AZ: What exactly does this mean?

Carnogursky: It means implementing the principles of the market economy, on which all groupings agree, including the Communist Party. What we are arguing about is the degree of privatization. My political group, the Christian Democratic Movement, advocates the greatest possible degree of privatization, whereas former communists want to reduce the state's share to 50 percent.

AZ: The CSSR citizens are most dissatisfied with the economic developments. What measures have already been taken to improve the situation?

Carnogursky: The government is responsible for the working of society. Therefore, we try to replace the directors of enterprises that are affiliated to the Communist Party by elected representatives. From economically highly developed countries, such as the FRG, we expect economic support, new technologies, know-how, etc... .

AZ: What about Austria?

Carnogursky: Well, cooperation between smaller enterprises near the border is conceivable.

AZ: You said you were going to replace certain directors of enterprises. What will actually happen with the many members of the secret police?

Carnogursky: The secret police has been disbanded. The members will get their salaries for another 2 or 3 months. Some of them will be used in spheres that are politically less sensitive, such as the criminal police. The others will have to look for new jobs.

AZ: Are you afraid that the Communist Party might regain power?

Carnogursky: No, not at all; the Communist Party will not regain any powerful position, and a return to the former situation is impossible. The opening up that has been made simply speak against this.

AZ: Is this sufficient, or do you have any other safeguards?

Carnogursky: As deputy premier, I am responsible for it. As a jurist, I try to create the legal basis for stable democracy. This means that we have to draw up an election law that gives all political groups the opportunity to cooperate.

AZ: Out of prison into high government office—how does this feel?

Carnogursky: In the first days I did not have the time to think about it, because everything was very hectic. Now I have already got used to ruling.

Party Committee Ordered To Cancel Resolution

AU1512161289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Dec 89 p 2

["PA)"-signed report: "From the Action Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Action Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] dealt at its yesterday's [10 December] session with the course of extraordinary district and city district party conferences and with the preparation of the extraordinary CPSL congress. In view of the violation of the election principle, a principle adopted in advance, at the extraordinary conference of the CPSL's Bratislava I rpt I City District, the Action Committee instructs the CPSL District Committee in Bratislava I rpt I to immediately abrogate the resolution on the expansion of its membership, and to declare invalid the Presidium election that was held at the its first session on 9 December 1989.

The CPSL Action Committee released Milan Cic from membership in the Action Committee on the latter's own request.

Adamec Speech at Bratislava Aktiv

AU1901113790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jan 90 p 2

["Excerpts" from speech by Ladislav Adamec, Czechoslovak Communist Party chairman, at a "citywide aktiv of Bratislava Communists" in Bratislava on 16 January: "Constructively Resolving Social Problems"]

[Text] We cordially thank you for the invitation to attend your aktiv. We consider this meeting to be proof that Bratislava Communists are operating as a political force and that they are succeeding in having a say in contemporary events. We know how many questions, fears, hopes, critical comments, and recommendations are broached or left unexpressed in our ranks. Our delegation agreed with this meeting's organizers on its unequivocal working character—a form of open dialogue and a free exchange of opinions and experiences. In no way do we want to hand out advice on matters concerning Slovak affairs.

We consider the fundamental changes in society to be inevitable and irreversible, although they are accompanied by certain extremes. At the same time, I would like to emphasize once more that thousands of courageous Communists also have their share in this peaceful process, which is, rightly, highly regarded throughout the world. For this reason, we consider it to be unjust and unjustified when attempts are made to condemn them for their party membership or to even jeopardize their livelihood. Our party is an equal partner at the round-table talks. Its representatives are members of the government of national understanding and legislative and representative bodies. Along with all the political forces, we have expressed our support for political pluralism, a pluralism with which attempts at any kind of monopoly and discrimination against citizens for their political appurtenance are incompatible. The party's activity is being developed on a firm legal and political basis. There is no reason for Communists who had nothing to do with deformations or abuse of power to be afraid to come up with ideas and make them public.

The authority of the party and Communists in society today depends, first and foremost, on how quickly and how decisively we succeed in parting from the past and become a truly modern leftist party. What exactly is a modern leftist party and what kind of goals does it set itself? The answer lies in our action program. This is a party which is endeavoring to establish a socially just, democratic, and humane society to provide the greatest scope possible for the free development of all its members and for the implementation of human rights and civic freedoms. A society where there are extensive and guaranteed social certainties for every citizen and where the people's needs and interests are satisfied to a high degree. This must be a party founded, first and foremost, on the enterprise of the primary elements and on the democratic decisionmaking of all members in its policy and activity. The party's status and future depends on this. Only with a clean shield and new image can we once more struggle for the public's trust. Therefore, we have to speedily and decidedly get rid of everything that holds this process back and we must fearlessly set out upon new paths.

The process of the party's renewal requires that an in-depth analysis be carried out into the development of our society during the past 40 years. It is necessary to draft an objective evaluation, an evaluation devoid of emotion and prejudices. It is necessary to point out the gross mistakes and their deformations and their internal and external causes, but it is also necessary to defend the results of brave work carried out for society by hundreds of thousands of Communists and other citizens. Every reasonable person can see this for himself in Slovakia.

Establishing an ideological and policy basis is appropriate to the formation of a new party. Its basis is the concept of democratic socialism which we founded in the action program adopted at the extraordinary congress. Its contents and title are linked to the 1968 Action Program. In its development, a modern leftist party cannot dogmatically dwell on minutiae more than 100 years old or on outmoded ideas from the classics and shut itself away from new phenomena that life brings.

Our future ideological orientation must link up very graphically with the traditions of democracy and humanism, with the tasks of culture and intelligence, and with the struggle for social progress and justice. These are deeply rooted in our people's conscience. They also form part of European progressive heritage. Nor do they lose their topicality from the point of view of the challenges of the new era or the expectations of the transition into the 21st century.

The structure of society will change as a result of the transfer to a market economy; there will be further social and special interest differentiation and inevitable conflicts. Just as in every modern industrial society, conditions exist for a strong left wing to operate. This corresponds to the need for a political representative and defender of the interests of working people, workers, farmers, members of the intelligentsia, and the upcoming and older generations. It is the guarantor of their social security and of their rights to work, to free health care and education, and to decent provision for young families, the sick, and the elderly. Our fundamental goal is a socially just and democratic society for everyone. We are not assuming the right to a monopoly in representing any social group. However, we are convinced that we are winning the working people's support. Our party will find its place in the leftist stream along with the other socialist tendencies.

The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee Action Program, rightly, raises the idea that the party must become a real national force and fulfill national aspirations and interests. We acknowledge this idea and we consider it necessary to overcome assymetry in the party's structure and to establish a republican party organization in the Czech Socialist Republic. Naturally, both these parties will have a common program base, ideological starting points, and organs that will unite their course of action at a federal level.

In view of the depth of program changes, there are some very justified demands to consider altering the party's name. Glorious chapters from past struggles against fascism and for national liberation, for the working people's rights, for bread, and for work are associated with its name. Unfortunately, however, grave mistakes and deformations are also associated with it—particularly, in the eyes of the younger generation. The issue of the party's name, so that it better expresses its new policy and aims, is being dealt with by other fraternal parties in neighboring countries. I think that along with the membership base we will have to consider this step democratically and make a decision at the congress. I know this will not be easy for older comrades in particular, for those who have been associated with the party all their lives. However, we must think about the future and proceed from the prospects for development, for the formation of society's political life in the future, and for the position we want to occupy in it.

In order to preserve the party's influence, we must quickly construct a new organizational structure. Many of our primary organizations have disappeared from workplaces, some Communists are waiting to see what will happen next, and some have left the party. It is necessary to delegate Communists to street organizations, clubs, cells, or other organizations according to specific conditions and possibilities. Many examples show that where there is no lack of necessary courage and initiative it is possible to overcome these problems.

The extent of these tasks only confirms the urgency and significance of holding the scheduled 18th party congress.

A fundamental trait of our new policy is a constructive and nonconfrontational approach toward solving social problems. We are in favor of dialogue and national understanding, which is the political basis of the federal and national governments and of the activity of legislative organs and the national committees. We are in favor of giving the roundtable institution a more stable framework and firmer rules, not only at the federal or republican level but at all levels.

The issue of democratic elections to all levels of representative bodies is today literally causing a stir throughout society. Preparing for the elections is one of our primary tasks.

With what kind of fundamental aims will our party enter the elections? These will be contained in the party's election program, which is based on the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and CPSL Action Program adopted by the extraordinary congresses. The CPCZ Central Committee session in February will discuss the party's election program in detail and I suppose the CPSL leadership will also discuss it. Our aim, just like the aim of all political parties and forces, will be to achieve maximum success in the elections. This will be vital for gaining a real opportunity to influence life in our society and its further development. We support suggestions that the election campaign should take place in a spirit of decency, correctness, and without defamations and smear campaigns. I think that at the roundtable it would be worth agreeing on a code of decency which would contain fundamental rules for the election campaign.

Rally Held To Activate Bratislava Communists

AU2001110590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jan 90 p 1

[Report by Teodor Hudecek and Frantisek Melis: "Citywide Aktiv Meeting of Bratislava Communists Convened; Our Party Cannot be a Mere Spectator; Rally Attended by Ladislav Adamec and Vasil Mohorita, Chairman and Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Respectively; a Stormy and Stimulating Discussion; Those Unjustly Affected Must be Protected"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava (by our editors)—The main idea of yesterday's [16 January] rally in the Park of Culture and

Relaxation was to activate the communists of the Bratislava City organization for the implementation of the conclusions adopted by the extraordinary congresses of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL]. The rally was attended by Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Chairman, Vasil Mohorita, first CPCZ Central Committee secretary, and Jiri Machalik, CPCZ Central Committee secretary.

Jan Siroky, chairman of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee, who had convened the aktiv and who chaired the aktiv meeting, stated in his opening speech, inter alia, that the communists are currently exposed to enormous pressure. It is only now that they are beginning to realize all that has happened. The existing party structures are incapable of quickly adopting an independent orientation and of correctly reacting to the development of events. So far the stormy discussions have yielded only very few constructive proposals on how to get out of the present complicated situation. The process of enhancing the autonomy and self-management of party organizations is progressing only slowly, and the same applies to the district CPSL committees.

In the present phase, Jan Siroky went on to say, it is particularly important to unify all members on the platform of the party's Action Program and to enrich this program with all the progressive proposals, regardless of whether they come from our own ranks, from various ideological streams within the framework of the CPCZ, or from the ranks of those outside the party. We are concerned with transforming the Communist Party into a modern, leftwing, democratic type of party, which will proceed to develop its activity from new theoretical starting positions and on new organizational foundations. Our party can no longer tolerate a discrepancy between its words and deeds, or isolation from the working man's life, from his interests and needs.

In harmony with this demand, the city party organization must be more flexible in setting up a new structure of party collectives, Jan Siroky went on to stress, it must not fear a variety of forms. Both the structure and contents of the former activities of our primary organizations have become outdated.

We cannot keep silent, and thus identify ourselves with the manifestations of political and civic discrimination which are presented as part and parcel of the democratization process, Jan Siroky went on to emphasize. The Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee calls upon the district, city district, and primary CPSL organizations, and upon all Communists and citizens of a democratic frame of mind, to organize meetings of those unjustly affected, or else meetings of the public for justice; and to inform the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee about all cases of injustice.

The main speech at the rally was delivered by Ladislav Adamec. [passage omitted]

CPSL Concern Over 'Pressure' on CP Members

AU1801115590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jan 90 p 1

["PA"-signed report: "Against Political and Social Tension"]

[Text] Bratislava— At its meeting yesterday, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee discussed the overall domestic political situation.

The Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee realizes fully the fact that changes in the cadre composition of the bodies of state power and state administration and in the management of the national economy are part and parcel of the shaping of a political system of pluralism. The course pursued by our representatives at the roundtable talks demonstrates that the Political Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee do not complicate the situation and do not stir up political and social tension. The Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee will continue to act in the interest and in the spirit of mutual respect among the decisive political forces, in the interest and in the spirit of the high standard of political negotiations and solutions. It assumes that representatives of the leadership of the Public Against Violence and of the [other] political parties attending the roundtable talks will proceed likewise in the next stage of the reconstruction of the Slovak National Council and of lower-level representative bodies.

The Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee is deeply concerned about the large number of cases of psychological pressure being brought to bear upon Communists who are members of representative bodies or of their apparatus, managers in the national economy, or functionaries of social organizations. The Executive Committee shares the great interest of the humanistic and democratic part of the public in the managerial structures being cleansed of discredited and incompetent people, regardless of whether they are Communists or not. However, the decision on who really is compromised and incompetent must be made in a civilized way and jointly by representatives of political parties and movements, civic initiatives, social organizations, and working people's self-management bodies. In many cases, however, the crusades against managerial workers who are Communists are waged by old-new mafias and clans that misuse the banner of the Public Against Violence movement for their selfish interests and games. The Executive Committee calls upon CPSL district and municipal district committees, CPSL primary organizations, and all Communists and democratically-minded citizens to organize meetings of those unjustly persecuted, or meetings of the public for justice, and to inform the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee about all cases of injustice.

40 CPCZ Deputies To Leave Czech Parliament

AU1501132190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jan 90 p 4

["II"-signed report: "On the Future of the Czech Parliament"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)— At his first news conference, held on Wednesday [10 January] in Prague, Jaroslav Safarik, chairman of the Czech National Council [CNR], replied to journalists' questions about the CNR's immediate plans.

He expressed the hope that the highest legislative body of the Czech Socialist Republic will succeed in regaining its lost authority as soon as possible. It can do so, above all, by deciding autonomously on the development of the republic. According to his words, the Slovak National Council will proceed likewise. He also spoke about the joint proposal of the CNR and the Slovak National Council to the effect that in the next parliament the two councils replace the Chamber of Nations. [passage omitted]

As regards the question of Communists, who account for 135 of the 200 CNR deputies, he said that, under the agreement reached at the roundtable on 5 January, representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia should not be in the majority in the highest legislative bodies. In specific terms, this means that [before elections are held] 95 Communist deputies should remain in the CNR.

Changes in Party Control Bodies' Work

AU1901150990

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 18 January on page 8 carries an 900-word interview with Karel Urbanek, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Control and Auditing Commission, by Vaclav Pergl entitled "There Will Not Be Any Directives." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Urbanek discusses the future work of CPCZ control bodies, placing emphasis on their role in auditing the party's financial affairs. Urbanek mentions that, in view of the "changed situation," the control bodies will no longer deal with "anonymous letters and notifications alerting us, for example, to theft of socialist property, misuse of a leading post, and so forth." As Urbanek explains, it is now impossible for members of control and auditing commissions to investigate these matters as "they have no access to workplaces, state bodies, and the like." Urbanek therefore requests everyone possessing information on breaches of law by party members to address it directly to "bodies active in criminal proceedings." The "political conclusions" against these party members will reportedly be drawn on the basis of the outcome of criminal proceedings.

Reshuffle in Regional National Committee

AU2912144989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 8

[Text] Ostrava/Usti nad Labem (Our correspondents)— For the first time in the history of the North Moravian region it is headed by a woman. This was decided by deputies of the Regional National Committee [KNV] in Ostrava on Thursday [21 December] who, at their extraordinary session, elected Engineer Sarka Varysova, 44, as chairwoman of that body of state power. The election was preceded by a collective resignation of the KNV council and the release of functionaries. After consultations with political parties and representatives of civic initiatives, the deputies elected a new council and new full-time functionaries.

The new KNV chairwoman is member of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party]; in the 18-member council there are 5 more Communists, 8 persons without party affiliation, and 2 each from the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] and the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL].

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The plenary session of the North Bohemian KNV on Thursday elected Engineer Jiri Sedlak its new chairman from two candidates. On the other hand, none of the candidates for the post of KNV deputy chairman received the necessary number of votes. The election will be repeated at the next session. There also have been changes in the council and the commission by complementing them by 9 candidates without party affiliation and by 1 CSS and 1 CSL candidate.

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Prague (CTK)—The renewal [obmena] of elected bodies was the main point on the agenda of the extraordinary plenary session of the Central Bohemian KNV in Prague. The deputies assented to reducing the KNV leadership from the original 18 council members to 17 deputies. Five of them are without political affiliation, 3 are CSL members, and 2 deputies represent the CSS.

Vladimir Sikola (CPCZ) was elected new chairman of the KNV.

Defense Ministry Statement on Bomb Shelters

LD0401222490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense Civil Defense Department has issued a statement to the Czechoslovak Press Agency on building bomb shelters in Czechoslovakia. The document says that the reports on civil defense shelters in the communication media in the past few weeks stem from the attempts for the funds expended to be used more efficiently for the benefit of society. These reports, however, disregard the fact that civil defense is an organizational expression of effort of the state to safeguard the life and health of citizens against possible effects of war events, as well as natural disasters and breakdowns in peacetime. It is an irreplaceable component of preparation of each state for the protection of its population. At the same time, however, there continue to exist enough forces and weapon systems to wage an armed struggle.

Further on Statement

AU1601111190 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 5 Jan 90 p 7

[Unattributed CTK report: "Statement on Shelters"]

[Text] Prague— The Civil Defense department of the Federal Ministry of National Defense made available to CTK the following statement on the construction of shelters in the CSSR:

In the last few weeks, reports have appeared in the information media about the construction of civil defense shelters and the protective system of the [Prague] subway and other underground transportation systems. Views have been expressed to the effect that they are unnecessary.

These views stem from the desire that the funds expended on these projects be used more efficiently for the benefit of society. However, they disregard the fact that civil defense is an organized expression of the state's effort to safeguard the life and health of citizens against possible effects of war events as well as natural disasters and industrial accidents at peacetime. It is an irreplaceable component of the preparations by each state for the protection of its population. This is borne out by the fact that states that are comparable in size to Czechoslovakia devote permanent attention to the construction of shelters and substantially larger sums than the CSSR. This is the case of Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and other countries where, in contrast to the CSSR, shelter is guaranteed for 60 to 100 percent of the population. The adaptation of underground transportation systems to provide shelter for the population is a matter of course for these countries, a matter arising from the law. We are of the opinion that our population deserves the same measure of protection. It is in this light that it is necessary to see the data on costs which have been published in the press. They are based on the economic potential of our state and are minimal when compared to actual needs. This is also why the main principle of construction is strict regard for the twofold purpose of building projects; that is, next to the provision of shelter, their peacetime use is dominant. The rejection of the construction of shelters also stems from ignorance about measures and principles being adopted worldwide. In the capitalist and neutral states, in particular, greater priority is accorded to these considerations than in the CSSR.

The fact must not be ignored that, despite all revolutionary changes, there do not yet exist such relations between states and groups of states that would rule out the use of force. Unfortunately, there continue to exist enough forces and weapons systems to wage an armed struggle.

The CSSR, which is built as a sovereign state, must take these facts into account.

Havel Appoints New University Rectors

LD2001014090 Prague CTK in English 1810 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today appointed new rectors of Czechoslovak universities. He named Radim Palous rector of Charles University in Prague, Professor Miroslav Kusy rector of Comenius University of Bratislava, Josef Jarab rector of Palacky University in Olomouc (North Moravia) and Professor Milan Jelinek rector of Purkyne University in Brno.

The president in his address on this occasion underlined that education is one of the worst affected spheres of life in Czechoslovakia and that teachers with the best moral and technical record were often being dismissed in the past. Much has to be done now, the president said and pointed out that a new law on universities, which is to return to the universities their academic freedoms and rights, is now being speedily worked out.

New Rectors of Slovak Colleges

AU1501140990

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 11 and 13 January, on page 2 in each instance, publishes several 100- to 250-word correspondents' reports on the elections of new rectors held in several Slovak colleges on 10 and 12 January. According to these reports, docent Engineer Vilem Stevka, candidate of sciences, was elected new rector of the forestry and lumber college in Zvolen; docent Engineer Ladislav Kabat, candidate of sciences, new rector of the agricultural college in Nitra; and Pavol Kluvanek, PhD, candidate of sciences, new rector of the transportation and communications college in Zilina.

Education Workers Trade Union Meets in Prague

LD0801224190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Summmary] A constituent conference of the trade union of workers in education in the CSSR is being held in Prague. The conference gave a vote of no-confidence to the action committee that replaced the CSSR Teachers' Trade Union. Delegates said that the new trade union should better represent the interests of educationalists.

RUDE PRAVO Chief Editor Appointed

LD1501104290 Prague CTK in English 0912 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 15 (CTK)—The board of editors of the Czechoslovak communist paper RUDE PRAVO appointed Zdenek Porybny editor-in-chief on Sunday.

Zdenek Porybny, who was up to now in charge of the paper's management after its former chief editor Zdenek Horeni left the post last December, was born in 1945 in Brno. He is a graduate of the Prague School of Economics and in 1969-70 studied at a post-graduate course of economic growth theories at the North-Western Polytechnic in London. He also worked as RUDE PRAVO's foreign correspondent in Paris and Washington.

Radio Sets Up Board for Religious Broadcasts

LD1601134190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] An editorial board for religious broadcasts has been established in Czechoslovak Radio. It will be a part of the main editorial board of radio journalism, and Father (Fiala) will be one of its editors. The editorial board will be in charge of broadcasting live Sunday holy masses which should begin on Sunday 4 February, with a live broadcast from St Wenceslas Cathedral in Olomouc.

Prague Radio Signature Tune Changed

LD1701105790

[Editorial Report] Prague in Czech to Europe at 2230 GMT on 16 January broadcasts an announcer-read report which states that "Prague Radio has announced that its current signature tune—'Left Forward'—which has been used since 1948, will be replaced on 1 February by the staion's original signature tune, which was used from 1936 until World War II.

Statutes of Journalists Syndicate Approved

LD1701131990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The Czech Interior Ministry has approved the statutes of the Syndicate of Journalists which is an independent, nonpolitical, professionally united organization uniting all Czech and Moravian journalists. The final text of the basic documents of the Syndicate of Journalists will be discussed by its general assembly at the beginning of April.

First Issue of New Tabloid Published 15 Jan

AU1801142890

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 16 January on page 2 carries a 350- word "kul"-signed report on the first issue of EXPRES [Express], a "new independent lunchtime paper," which was published in Prague on 15 January. As RUDE PRAVO notes, the masthead slogan of EXPRES states that it is a newspaper for "sensations, interesting information, press reports, and press corrections." The first, 15 January issue reportedly includes, among other things, "the call for a discussion on the legalization of prostitution, the serialized memoirs of [actress] Adina Mandlova, horoscopes, comics, court-room reports, and stories about private affairs, even including affairs of constitutional officials."

New Ecological Technical Magazine

AU1901122590 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Jan 90 p 3

["(bau)"-signed report: "PURO Revue"]

[Text] Prague -"Puro" means "pure." And the PURO REVUE is a new, independent, professional ecological-technical journal which will be oriented toward ecologically pure technology. The first copy of this quarterly should come out in the middle of March. In it you will be able to find data on the ecological problems in Czechoslovakia, but also abroad. You can order the new magazine at the following address: PURO REVUE, Trencinska Street 2629/8, 141 00 Prague 4.

Slovak Writers Union Ends Activities

LD1801154890 Prague CTK in English 1458 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 18 (CTK)—The Slovak Writers' Union decided at its congress today to end its activities. Its chairman Anton Hykisch proposed the foundation of the association of Slovak writers.

Layoffs in Slovak TV Trigger Protests

AU1901153590

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 18 January on page 2 publishes several items dealing with reactions to the decision of the "Program Council of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Socialist Republic" of 16 January to give notice to a number of journalists from Bratislava Television's Main News Department.

The first item is a 1,000-word statement issued by editors of the "Main News Department of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Socialist Republic," entitled "When Dialogue Turns Into Monologue on Color." The statement, which was signed by 78 of the 115 members of the department, protests against the fact that 31 editors from the department, "most of them Communists," were given notice. The editors express their concern that "trends exist to substitute one totalitarian system with another" and describe the decision as "the effort of a certain political group to gain monopoly in the television news and, thereby, a privileged right to shape public opinion before the elections." The signatories qualify the Program Council's decision as "unfounded, unlawful, and at variance with the General Declaration on Human Rights." The signatories of the statement also demand the right to determine themselves "who has or does not have the moral and professional right to continue working in the television news department." In this context they refer to the "basic principles" of the Public Against Violence and Civic Forum initiatives, which stress the democratic right of "labor collectives" to decide about their affairs.

On the same page, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 250-word statement issued by the "Action Managerial Board of the Main News Department, the Organizational Committee, and the Program Council of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Socialist Republic." The statement states that, "on the basis of many critical voices of citizens, civic initiatives, and the Slovak Socialist Republic Government and following instructions from Ladislav Chudik, Slovak Socialist Republic minister of culture," the Program Council of Slovak Television had "taken key personnel measures in the Bratislava Main News Department by temporarily transferring to different work 20 [figure as published] of its staff members." The statement notes that this decision "proceeds from the abolition of the constitutional article on the leading role of the party and from demands for moral integrity." In conclusion, the statement mentions that, in response to protests of "the larger part" of the news department's editors, the Program Council has "reconsidered its decision and apologized to six employees of the Main News Department and of Teletext," while "insisting" on the other personnel decisions.

This statement is followed by a 200-word CTK report stating that editors of the Main News Department and of Teletext of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Socialist Republic have entered a "token [manifestacni] strike" in protest against the "cadre solution of the situation" in their department. The report quotes a statement by the striking journalists as saying that they regard the Program Council's steps as "unlawful and inconsistent with all ethical principles of the 'gentle revolution'."

Report on Slovak Television Strike

LD1801205790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] A strike, as an expression of deep distrust with a decision taken by the program council of Czechoslovak television in Slovakia, which yesterday recalled, with immediate effect, 31 employees of the editorial boards of television news and teletext, involved a majority of employees of these editorial boards. They began their strike today in front of the Slovak government office.

The strike committee representatives briefed Jozef Markus, first deputy premier of the Slovak government, on their demands. They protested against the way in which the council tackles personnel questions and called this course of action a return to the practices of the previous regime. Employees who were not affected by the recall from their posts also expressed solidarity with their colleagues by taking part in the strike.

According to Jozef Markus, the Slovak government accepted a demand from the strike committee that the decision taken by the program council be invalidated and, at the same time, the government proposed that a final solution to problems be found in the next few days through a dialogue between its individual members and representatives of the strike committee.

The representatives of the strike committee acquainted themselves with a stand taken by the Slovak government and declared at an all-television meeting in Mlynska Dolina that given this, the reason to continue the strike had for them ceased to exist.

Radio Creates Religious Editorial Board

LD1901220890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] An editorial board of religious life was established in Czechoslovak radio in Prague in the presence of representatives of the Ecumenical Council of Churches, the Catholic Church, and Jewish religious community.

Vaclev Vrabec, director of the central broadcasting board of political and journalistic reporting, noted that the establishment of this editorial board was a logical step in the context of the changes taking place in our entire society.

The editorial board should help in renewing public life and at the same time also fill a blank spot in Czechoslovak radio's broadcasting for our citizens who are believers. The editorial board of religious life will begin regular broadcasts on 4 February with a live broadcast of the Holy Mass from St Wenceslas Cathedral in Olomouc at 0900 on the Prague radio station.

Jiri Zajic was appointed head of the editorial board.

Ministry of Information To Replace FUTI

AU2201113090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jan 90 p 3

["val"-signed report: "Ministry In Lieu of Office"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)— At a news conference organized by the Federal Press and Information Office (FUTI) in Prague on Wednesday [17 January], journalists were briefed about the obsolete practice being pursued when registering new periodicals and about planned changes to the press law.

A total of 25 new newspapers and periodicals were registered with FUTI and the two republics' ministries of culture between 1 December 1989 and mid-January. If there are still some limitations to the further explosion of publishing activity, it is only limitations of a material, economic, and capacity nature.

In the planned amendment to the press law, which is expected to come into force in the second half of February, the formulation has been deleted according to which information media cannot be in private ownership. Furthermore, the amendment abolishes, for instance, the system of sanctions [sankcni system] as a form of censorship. The obligation to register new periodicals retains. The amendment must be understood as a provisional solution only. Changes of principle will be contained in the law on mass information media, the draft of which is being drawn up.

The FUTI is to be abolished in March this year, in connection with the start of activity of the new CSSR Ministry of Information.

Radio Director Assesses Workers Attitudes

LD2001094590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Now we are going to acquaint you with a statement by Karel Stary, director general of Czechoslovak Radio. It says:

A number of letters are being delivered these days to Czechoslovak radio and listeners telephone to say that they still hear voices coming from our microphones which not so long ago defended the police interventions against demonstrators and students or compromised themselves in other ways in the past.

Following appeals repeated several times to all radio employees to search their conscience, appreciate their attitude toward what is happening in Czechoslovakia and to themselves, reach the conclusion that it is not good just to try to cling to their positions. [as received] Now there is a need to take steps to enable our broadcast to more speedily bring about a democratization of public and political life.

Long-term intentions are clear: To form a modern mass medium which will report objectively, analyze new trends in our society, help with training and education, and entertain. Nevertheless, now it is time to make clear who will take part in what is being prepared, to support it fully, and participate in working for this.

That is why the management of Czechoslovak Radio decided to carry out at individual work places collective discussions among senior staff, representatives of new trade unions and civic initiatives, taking into account the specific character of Czech and Slovak radio, in order to make clear who has moral and professional qualities to work in radio.

This collective assessment of moral and professional qualities required for work in individual departments of Czechoslovak radio will take place as soon as possible—at the latest by the end of February—in order to enable the radio to carry out a service to our entire society in the period of our country's change to a democratic state.

Potac Loses State Bank Directorship

LD2812124489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] The federal government complied today with the request of Svatopluk Potac and released him from the office of chairman of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia. At the same time it appointed Josef Tosovsky to the office.

Josef Tosovsky has so far been a deputy director of the branch of Zivnostenska Bank in London.

New State Bank Director for Slovakia Appointed

AU1001124490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report from the "Briefly from Home" column: "New General Director of the Czechoslovak State Bank in Slovakia"]

[Text] Engineer Egon Hlavaty, candidate of sciences, has been appointed general director of the Czechoslovak State Bank's Main Institute for the Slovak Socialist Republic. The new general director was inducted into office by Engineer Vladimir Valach, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, in the presence of Engineer Michal Kovac, candidate of sciences, minister of finance, prices, and wages of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

New Savings Bank Director Appointed

AU1801192390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report in the "By Telex, Mail, and Telephone" column]

[Text] The Czech Socialist Republic minister of finance, prices, and wages has recalled Vera Nepimachova from the post of Director General of the Czech State Savings Bank and has appointed Engineer Miloslav Kohoutek to this post.

Papal Nuncio on Purpose of Visit

AU2201103590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 18 Jan 90 p 4

[Unattributed CTK report: "Archbishop Concludes Visit"]

[Text] Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, apostolic nuncio on a special mission from the Vatican, yesterday [17 January] visited Banska Bystrica and Nitra. The purpose of his 5-day stay in the CSSR was to visit most of the larger dioceses in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia and to meet candidates for the unoccupied episcopal offices. In talking to the church dignitaries he gained a more profound knowledge of the activities carried out in the episcopates, of the life led by the believers, and of the new possibilities opened to the churches under the conditions created by the current significant changes in society. He said, inter alia, that his visit was not connected with the statement made by CSSR President V. Havel in his New Year speech, namely that he would be happy if Pope John Paul II were to visit the CSSR this year.

Carnogursky Delivers Invitation to Pope

LD2001074390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] A Czechoslovak delegation, led by Jan Carnogursky, first deputy premier of the Federal Government, left tonight from Prague to Rome to deliver an invitation to Pope John Paul II to visit Czechoslovakia.

Official letters, which he will hand over to the Pope in the Vatican tomorrow, were written to John Paul II by CSSR President Vaclav Havel, and Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek, Primate of Bohemia.

According to Jan Carnogursky, it is possible to expect the Pope's visit before the end of the first half of this year.

Pope To Visit in April

LD2001224590 Prague CTK in English 1730 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Vatican City, Jan 20 (CTK correspondent)—Pope John Paul II received here today representatives of the Czechoslovak Government and church for a private audience, for the first time in 42 years.

The government delegation includes First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky, Deputy Chairman Josef Hromadka, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party Josef Bartoncik, Archbishops Jan Sokol and Frantisek Vanak, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and other officials.

Members of the delegation discussed with Pope John Paul II the possibility of his visit to Czechoslovakia. The pope promised to visit Czechoslovakia in April.

The Czechoslovak delegation was also received by Cardinal Casaroli in the Basilica of St. Peter's.

AFP Report

AU2001143090 Paris AFP in English 1351 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] VATICAN CITY, Jan 20 (AFP) - Pope John Paul II has accepted an invitation from President Vaclav Havel and Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, the Roman Catholic primate of Czechoslovakia, to visit the country in April, it was announced here Saturday.

A Vatican spokesman said that the pope replied in person to the invitation when he received a delegation led by First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky here Saturday.

The spokesman, Joaquin Navarro, said that the pope usually tried to avoid visiting countries in the run-up to elections, which are scheduled to take place in Czechoslovakia in June. But he said it was "reasonable to suppose" that a visit would take place on April 21 and 22, a few days after Easter.

Another deputy premier in Czechoslovakia, Josef Hromadka, who is responsible for religious affairs, said on Wednesday that the pope was unlikely to visit the country for several months.

Changes in Government Church Policy Outlined

AU1701094290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "For Religious Rights and Freedoms; On New Approaches in State-Church Relations"]

[Text] Prague— "State consent and supervision of the activity of the clergy will be abolished, monastic life restored, church education expanded, and many other changes will be made to allow every citizen to fully exercise his religious rights and freedoms. Some of these changes will be carried out in the very near future, others will be the product of the new church laws that are being worked on intensively," Karel Hais, LLD, of the section for church affairs at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium told CTK. This section has replaced the former CSSR Government Secretariat for Church Affairs.

As he said, the main mission of the new office is to mediate relations between the state and churches; to help in the legal settling of property issues; to provide, if and where appropriate, financial subsidies for the activity of churches; to attend to it that believers' rights are respected during the performance of basic military service; to promote foreign contacts; and the like. In contrast to the former secretariat, which was independent, the work of the section is directly subordinated to the CSSR deputy premier, which means that this office is only a consultative and executive body. All decision-making will be exclusively within the competence of the Federal Government. There are about 8 million believers in Czechoslovakia, 5 million of whom are Catholics.

From the many monastic orders which used to exist in Czechoslovakia, there remain about 800 nuns whose average age is between 60 and 70. Those who are able help in the social sphere, in health care, in looking after disabled children, and the like. Following the passage of the necessary legislative amendments, it will be possible to renew the life of monastic orders with everything this entails, including admission to the novitiate and education for various professions, mostly of charitable nature. The reintroduction of male monastic orders is also expected. For this to happen it will be necessary, however, to make available the appropriate premises for use by the churches as well as sufficient financial support. The state will probably take part in this.

Concerning religious education at schools Dr. Hais said that it depends only on the schools' possibilities. He did not rule out the possibility of establishing church schools. An increase in the number of theological faculties is also foreseen. Asked whether the changes under preparation will mean the complete separation of churches from the state, K. Hais replied: "The word separation is an antiquated term, in my opinion. The situation today is completely different from the situation in the first republic—the churches do not want to set themselves apart from society. Quite the reverse, they are interested in sharing in the life of society as much as possible. At the same time they demand the legislative codification of guarantees which would prevent unwarranted interference by the state apparatus in internal church affairs. State bodies of all levels should also assist in this."

Carnogursky on Vatican Visit; Returns Home

LD2101205190 Prague CTK in English 1921 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Rome, Jan 21 (CTK Correspondent)—The appointment of new bishops in Czechoslovakia can be expected in March and shortly after that the renewal of Czechoslovakia's diplomatic relations with the Vatican should follow, Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky stated here today adding that both questions are being discussed simultaneously.

Addressing a news conference at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Rome, Jan Carnogursky said that there are no problems on the Czechoslovak side in the question of the filling of vacant bishoprics in Czechoslovakia. It only depends on canonical inquiry carried out by the Holy See in Czechoslovakia at present. The Czechoslovak Government is extremely interested in restoring diplomatic ties with the Vatican as soon as possible. The Vatican has the same intention but is now preoccupied with the filling of vacant Bishoprics. As soon as this question is solved, the problem of restoring diplomatic contacts will be dealt with again, Jan Carnogursky said.

He also informed the journalists that the Pope John Paul II accepted the invitation to come to Czechoslovakia. The visit at the invitation of President Vaclav Havel and Frantisek Cardinal tomasek will take place in the second half of April and the Pope will visit Prague, Velehrad (South Moravia) and Bratislava.

Jan Carnogursky further stated that the date of the visit has not been set yet as it is being prepared in an improvised way and many details remain to be solved. At this time it is not expected that the pope would consecrate new bishops in the course of his visit.

Asked why the pope has been invited just now, Jan Carnogursky said that the pope has been invited as a great moral authority, the head of the Catholic Church which has millions of adherents in Czechoslovakia, and as a great personality of the present world. All this makes the visit a symbol of the range of changes realized in Czechoslovakia, Jan Carnogursky said.

Deputy Premier Josef Hromadka told the news conference that the new Czechoslovak Government intends to create the necessary preconditions for free democratic church to live in free and democratic Czechoslovakia.

Jan Carnogursky and Josef Hromadka were members of a Czechoslovak Government delegation which came to the Vatican to convey to the Pope the Czechoslovak president's invitation for a visit to Czechoslovakia.

[Prague CTK in English at 2001 GMT on 21 January in a Prague-datelined report adds: "A Czechoslovak Government delegation headed by First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky returned here from the Vatican today."]

Dispute Between Churches in East Slovakia

AU0901091290 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 4 Jan 90 p 4

[Unattributed CTK report: "Relations Between Churches Are Improving"]

[Text] Members of the Metropolitan Council of the Orthodox Church in the CSSR paid a visit to CSSR Deputy Premier J. Hromadka to inform him about relations between the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches in East Slovakia. The visit resulted in the Orthodox Church giving its consent to the establishment of a commission to deal with contentious issues concerning the property and the utilization of the buildings of these two churches. In a telephone call J. Hirko, residential bishop of the Greek Catholic Church in Presov, also agreed with this course of action. The two churches will appoint their representatives into the commission, which will start its activity with immediate effect.

Agricultural Party Official on CPCZ Ties

AU2912184489

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 27 December on page 2 carries a 1,200-word undated interview with Frantisek Trnka, secretary of the Central Preparatory Committee of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party [Ceskoslovenska Strana Zemedelska], by Jiri Stych entitled "On the Attitude of the Agricultural Party Toward the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia." In the interview, Trnka is first asked to respond to Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Chairman Ladislav Adamec's statement made on Czechoslovak Television on 22 December to the effect that the CPCZ will seek coalition with the agricultural party. Trnka replies that the agricultural party is now busy with preparations for its founding congress on 13 January, that no negotiations with the CPCZ have taken place, and that it is "unwarranted and premature to talk about any coalition policy at a time when free elections are not even legally codified." Next, Trnka responds to "rumors" that the agricultural party is to serve as "interchange station for the party and state bureaucratic apparatus." He reiterates that "there is no relation whatsoever" between his party and the CPCZ and notes that the agricultural party's work will be carried out by voluntary functionaries and that there will be only "a handful" of paid staff. According to Trnka, the central and district preparatory committees are headed "mostly by nonparty members or by former CPCZ members who tried to set up an agricultural political organization 21 years ago and who have therefore been doomed to vegetate on the periphery of society." Trnka mentions, however, that his party is open also to former Communists, "among whom there is a number of leading experts," and that, after the election of a new parliament, it will be "grateful for the votes of Communist deputies, should they find our rational program aimed at a speedy introduction of the market economy in the countryside acceptable."

Agrarian Party 'Dissociates' Itself From CP

LD1401025990 Prague CTK in English 1523 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 13 (CTK)—At least 600 delegates met at a constituent congress of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party at Zadverice, Zlin District, South Moravia, today.

The delegates discussed a draft program, regulations and other documents. They will elect their chairman, presidium, Central Audit Commission and other executive bodies.

The draft program was amended with an article stating that the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party dissociates from the policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party which led society to the totalitarian system. The party does not want to become even a provisional recourse for former members of the Communist Party. It acclaims itself to the Civic Forum. It wants to help those who suffered in the period of collectivization, the draft said.

Issues Policy Statement

LD1601084890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Agrarian Party issued a statement today which stressed that the party does not stand outside the stream of newly founded parties and initiatives. Its membership base consists of the best people.

At its Congress on Saturday, the party publicly dissociated itself from Czechoslovak Communist Party policy. Its program statement said that the compromised and discredited communists cannot become its members. The Czechoslovak Agrarian Party does not feel linked to any former political structure and in practice is prepared to co-operate with all those who can help in feeding the people.

New Agricultural Party Formed

AU1801124590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jan 90 p 1

[Report by Evzen Stanek and Zdenek Hoffmann: "Agricultural Workers Have Their Own Party; Delegates So Far Unable to Agree on a Name"]

[Text] Zlin (by our reporters)—The people producing bread for our tables have not only the right, but also the duty to take part in the administration of the country and to help uphold the democratic ideals of our newly organized society. Roughly 600 delegates from almost all districts of our republic backed this view at a meeting in the Congress Hall of the AGROKOMBINAT Slusovice unified cooperative farm on Saturday [13 January], when they founded an agricultural party .

The new political party wants to promote the interests of cooperative farmers and state farm employees, of private farmers and people working in forestry, the water economy, and the food industry, workers living in rural areas, the cultivators of small garden plots and breeders of animals, gamekeepers and bee-keepers, people working in science and education, and pensioners and young people in rural areas.

"We are not communists who have been re-dyed green," one of the delegates said; and in a way this statement characterizes the entire atmosphere of the meeting. The participants in the congress disassociated themselves from the policy pursued to date by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], as well as from those of its discredited members who have led our economy and our entire society into a crisis. They declared their allegiance to civic forums and to the democratic ideals of T.G. Masaryk and A. Svehla.

Many, frequently quite contradictory, suggestions were voiced in the discussion. For instance, while the delegates approved both the statement of policy and the statutes, after certain amendments were made, they have so far not agreed on a definite name for the party.

Eng Frantisek Trnka, candidate of sciences and assistant professor, who up to now has held the office of deputy director for economy in the AGROKOMBINAT Slusovice unified cooperative farm, was elected chairman of the party, which can count on up to 12,000 people as its followers, but which still has its main recruitment campaign before it. Eng Pavel Delinga from the unified cooperative farm in Bratislava-Vajnory became the party's deputy chairman.

CC Presidium Elected

AU1901122790 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Jan 90 p 2

["(zn)"-signed report: "Further Officials Elected"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday our editorial office received a report on the course of the session held by the 120-member Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party [CSZ] immediately after the conclusion of the party's constitutent congress in the rebuilt Na Veseli restaurant in the Zlin district on 13 January. The constituent congress had already elected Eng F.Trnka, candidate of sciences and assistant professor, to the office of chairman of the CSZ Central Committee; and Eng P.Delinga, candidate of sciences, Eng O.Labounek, and F.Nagy, LLD, to the offices of deputy chairmen. Later the Central Committee elected the party's Presidium members for the Czech lands: Eng D.Polivka from Tabor, S.Kozak from Jicin, Eng J.Kostrhun from Breclav, Eng J.Krizek, candidate of sciences, from Sumperk, Eng M.Pospech from Karlovy Vary, and Eng A.Stranak, candidate of sciences and assistant professor, from Brno. For Slovakia it elected Eng J. Miskovic from Galanta, Eng P. Turoci from Banska Bystrica, Eng J.Bartok from Velky Krtis, A.Rehak from Bardejov, F.Nagy, LLD, from Komarno, and Eng J.Budke from Trebisov.

Chairman Interviewed

AU2201102990 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Jan 90 p 1,2

["(mm)"-signed report: "Press Conference With Eng F. Trnka, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party; 'Leaving Slusovice With a Heavy Heart...' "]

[Text] Zadverice—Immediately after his election to the office of chairman of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party [CSZ], Eng Frantisek Trnka, candidate of sciences and assistant professor, answered a few questions put to him by curious journalists. He was in quite a hurry: He had to hasten from Zadverice to Vizovice, where the congress was to continue with the elections of other CSZ executive bodies. This is why he was brief.

According to the chairman's view, the bad ecological situation in our country is not a matter which concerns agricultural workers alone. It also concerns other branches of our national economy, which must create appropriate conditions for the people working in agriculture. And this also applies to the processing branch, i.e. the food industry.

This week F. Trnka will establish personal contacts with the other agricultural parties which are currently being set up in our country. For the time being it will not be a matter of direct cooperation, but rather a matter of establishing contacts.

A coalition with other political forces is also something for the future. Today the individual parties are still crystallizing their specific standpoints. The CSZ will probably join other parties in support of parts of certainissues or concurrent views, while at other times it will uphold opposite positions.

The Agricultural Party does not want any people who have been compromised in its ranks—and not only such people from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It is necessary to differentiate, since honest people can be found even among the communists. Were we to bear them a grudge, we would in fact behave in the same manner as the former totalitarian system had behaved, in excluding many good, capable people from social and political life. This was said by the chairman in reaction to a question put to him by the editor of LOS ANGELES TIMES.

The CSZ will probably have its headquarters in Prague.

According to F. Trnka, his departure from Slusovice seems inevitable. He will be relinquishing the function of deputy chairman for economy which he has held in the unified cooperative farm to date. He conceded that he is also bound to the Slusovice AGROKOMBINAT by sentimental ties, since—according to his own words—it was there that he turned "from a second-rate citizen into a citizen with equal rights." However, one cannot sit on two chairs simultaneously. The new CSZ chairman is naturally not a servant of Slusovice (he stressed that this term is not meant in a denigrating sense), and that he considers it to be his present duty to serve our entire agriculture.

Agriculture Ministry Reorganized

AU0901150590

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 3 January on page 1 carries an 850-word "zn"-signed article entitled "Without Regional Sections; New Organizational Structure of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Czech Socialist Republic." The article deals with a consultative meeting of directors of regional and district sections of the Czech Socialist Republic Ministry of Agriculture and Food held "toward the end of last year," at which Minister Jan Vodehnal discussed planned organizational changes in the ministry. According to Vodehnal, the ministry's sections in the regions will be abolished and "will terminate their activity" by the end of January 1990. This decision was reportedly taken in response to the criticism coming from managers of agricultural enterprises to the effect that "the regional sections are out of touch with agricultural practice." In the place of regional sections, 29 "territorial subdivisions" [uzemni utvary] of the ministry will be established with effect from 1 February, 35 of which will operate within the boundaries of districts and 14 within the boundaries of merged districts. According to the minister, the "territorial subdivisions" will also have a "substantially different content of activity" and will concentrate on environmental issues, economic levers, the regulation of supplier-user relations, and the promotion of scientific and technical development. In the first half of 1990, the directors of the territorial subdivisions are to undergo practical 2-week courses of study in "top" agricultural enterprises such as Slusovice or Prace. The aim of this training will be to "turn them into managers and organizers capable of leading agricultural enterprises toward the market economy."

Government Program Presented to Czech NF

LD1801051190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2130 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] A draft program of the government of national understanding and the procedure for its implementation have been submitted to the [NF] Presidium of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee. With regard to the importance of the documents, it has been agreed that a special session will be held to deal with it.

The Presidium of the NF Central Committee also considered the report concerning the resignation of some Czech National Council deputies.

Czech Government Session Reported

AU1501125990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jan 90 p 2

["CTK, is"-signed report on the 10 January session of the Czech Socialist Republic Government]

[Excerpts] The Government of the Czech Socialist Republic met in Prague on Wednesday [10 January] in the presence of the newly elected chairmen of regional national committees and of the mayor of Prague. [passage omitted]

In view of the changes in the relationship between the state and churches and religious societies, and in harmony with its programmatic targets, the government proposed to the Presidium of the Czech National Council the abolition of the structure of bodies for the administration of church policy in the Ministry of Culture and in regional, district, and other national committees where such bodies exist. [passage omitted]

The government heard a report by the minister of the interior on the situation in the National Security Corps [SNB]. It expressed full support for all honest and dedicated SNB members, who are consistently discharging their duties. Their activity, carried out in harmony with the law, is unconditionally necessary and beneficial for society and individual citizens.

As Dagmar Buresova, minister of justice of the Czech Socialist Republic, informed us immediately after the government session, she informed the government about the implementation of the amnesty.

"It has been completed as far as first-category prisons are concerned. As regards convicts in second- and third-category prisons, only a fraction of them remain to be released. [passage omitted] Overall, only 1 percent of the amnestied convicts committed criminal acts or minor offenses, although there were also two murders among them. I believe that the public has no reason for fear. [passage omitted]

"A total of 4,220 persons will continue to serve prison terms. They will be divided in such a way as to ensure the necessary operation of institutions and prisons."

Czech Council Abolishes Church Affairs Secretariat

LD1301102290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] The Czech National Council Presidium promulgated a legal act that changes a law on setting up ministries and other central bodies of state administration of the Czech Socialist Republic.

In this context, the presidium abolished the Czech Government Secretariat for Church Affairs. Its tasks will be taken over by the Czech Ministry of Culture until the entire complex issue is regulated by a new law.

Resignations From Czech Parliament

AU1101152590

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 9 January on page 2 carries a 300-word CTK report on the 8 January session of the Czech National Council. The RUDE PRAVO report lists the names of all eight Czech National Council deputies who surrendered their seats at the session. They are: Josef Kempny, Frantisek Kincl, Marie Jarosova, Jaroslav Prokopec, Jiri Cibelius, Frantisek Sramek, Frantisek Chabicovsky, and Jaroslav Kopenec.

Czech Public Prosecutor Appointed

LD0801221790 Prague CTK in English 2036 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 8 (CTK)—The Czech National Council today appointed Pavel Rychetsky public prosecutor of the Czech Socialist Republic.

The council accepted the resignation of minister-chairman of the Committee of People's Control Stanislav Kukral who was elected first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly.

Reshuffle in Czech Svazarm Reported

AU2112193589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The plenary session of the Czech Central Committee of Svazarm [Union for Cooperation With the Army], expanded by chairmen of councils, sections, and commissions of the Czech Central Committee and Regional Committees of Svazarm and by chairmen of Svazarm's regional and district committees, which was held in Jindrichuv Hradec last weekend [16-17 December], accepted the resignation of Major General Miloslav Vrba, chairman of the Czech Central Committee of Svazarm until then, and elected Major General Zdenek Stork new chairman, and Petr Kratochvil first deputy chairman by secret ballot.

Safarik Elected Czech National Council Chairman

LD1912093689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] The deputies of the Czech National Council met today in Prague for their 17th meeting. Roman Zamboch has this report:

[Zamboch] The first item on today's agenda was the election of a new chairman of the Czech National Council, after Josef Kempny resigned from that post. In a secret ballot, Josef Safarik received 174 votes for, and 12 against. He was the candidate agreed by the deputies in the morning sessions of the clubs of the different political parties and at a gathering of deputies with no party affiliation.

Josef Safarik is an employee of the LIAZ state enterprise in Jablonec nad Nisou. He is 47 years old, a member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and a deputy of the Czech National Council in its second electoral period. In his opening speech in the new post of chairman of the Czech National Council, he had this to say:

[Begin Safarik recording] It means more than belonging to a political party or to a political grouping. It means responsibility to the nation. I would like to say unequivocally—and in my view this follows both from the constitution, the law, and the rules of procedure—that from the electoral and party points of view, and from the point of view of the nation, deputies must give preference to the view of the people. You may be inclined to ask: What is the view of the people? Deputies must adopt a highly professional approach, make maximum use of accurate methods of finding out the views of the public at large. It is in this spirit that the Czech National Council will make use of different expert opinions, findings of the Public Opinion Institute, and so forth. [end recording]

[Zamboch] That is part of what new Czech National Council Chairman Josef Safarik had to say. The 17th meeting of the highest representative body in the Czech Socialist Republic is continuing at this moment with discussion of further cadre changes.

New Czech Youth Union Established

AU1801093190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jan 90 p 3

["(lou)"-signed report: "Youth Union Replaces Socialist Youth Union"]

[Text] Mlada Boleslav (By our reporter)—The Socialist Youth Union [SSM] in the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR] has ceased to exist in its previous form. A new voluntary, autonomous organization which does not depend on any political party—the Union of CSR Youth [Svaz Mladych CSR]—has been set up on its foundations.

It comes under the management of an Action Committee, which is chaired by Stanislav Vasa, a student of the Agriculture College in Prague, and which has also taken over the entire jurisdiction of the former Presidium and Secretariat of the SSM's Czech Central Committee. The new Youth Union will also administer the property of the SSM's Czech Central Committee. However, provisions must be made for all young people to be able to use this property.

These decisions were adopted early on Sunday [14 January] morning, after more than 17 hours of deliberations, by the delegates to the extraordinary SSM congress in the CSR, which was held in Mlada Boleslav. Their deliberations were stormy, and at times disorderly; a lot of time was spent on procedural issues, and sometimes the deliberations led into a blind alley. One could even hear contradictory views, for instance from the Prague and Moravian members. For a long time the delegates were unable to come to an agreement, particularly on matters of property. Of course, the important thing is that in the end they did agree on the text of the final resolution. They also approved the Program of Action and the basic principles of the organizational statute of the Union of CSR Youth.

The delegates recommended that the CSSR Congress of the SSM, which will convene on 27 January, grant independence to the Pioneer Organization and to the Brontosaurus special-interest association. They also endorsed the demand to shorten national service, and to do so retroactively. The present congress will continue on 3 February, as the Congress of the Union of CSR Youth; Mlada Boleslav will again be the venue.

Report Corrected

AU1901101890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jan 90 p 3

["(lou)"-signed report: "Socialist Youth Union Continues Operations"]

[Text] The report on the deliberations of the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] in the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR], carried in our Monday [16 January] issue, was entitled "Youth Union Replaces Socialist Youth Union." This report contained several inaccurate statements.

It began by stating that "the SSM in the CSR has ceased to exist in its previous form. A new voluntary, autonomous organization which does not depend on any political party—the Union of CSR Youth [Svaz mladych CSR]—has been set up on its foundations." This statement is false. The resolution adopted by the delegates to the congress of the SSM in the CSR is merely a recommendation for the statewide SSM congress which will convene on 27 January. This applies both to the change in the organization's name, and to the draft of the new organizational statute which the Youth Union should follow in its work. This means that in the CSR the SSM continues to exist.

The Action Committee of the SSM in the CSR, which was elected at the congress, convened on Monday [15 January] under its chairman, Miroslav Bartos. (RUDE PRAVO erroneously mentioned another name in its report.) The Action Committee approved a statement of attitude, in which it reverted to the results achieved during the first part of deliberations at the extraordinary congress. The statement mentions, inter alia, that the extraordinary congress of the SSM in tbe CSSR had received a recommendation for the "organizational statute and basic principles of a revived SSM youth organization, which should operate under the proposed name 'Youth Union.' It should be an autonomous, voluntary social organization which would not depend on any political party or political force." RUDE PRAVO already reported the decision adopted by the congress delegates, namely that all children and young people have the moral right to make use of the property owned by the SSM in the CSR. However, we failed to mention that the Action Commitee has been charged with the task of initiating a roundtable meeting of all contemporary youth organizations in the CSR, but also of organizations which are currentlyr being established, for the purpose of dealing precisely with all matters connected with the use of such property.

SED-PDS Expels Krenz, Other Top Members

LD2101091190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0318 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, the former general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and GDR Council of State chairman, has been expelled from the SED-PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism]. Together with him, the former members and candidate members of the former SED Politburo Hans-Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrman, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Inge Lange, Erich Mueckenberger, Margarete Mueller, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Gerhard Schuerer, and Werner Walde [were expelled].

This comes from a press release distributed early this morning on the meeting of the SED-PDS Central Arbitration Commission on Saturday and Sunday in Berlin.

There could be no hearing concerning Werner Eberlein because of illness. The Hermann Axen hearing was also cancelled, as he is on remand and has so far been unable to give a reaction.

The release also stated that all the decisions were conscientiously examined.

Earlier, 47 comrades to whom injustices had been done in the course of Stalinist repression were rehabilitated.

Included among them is 82-year old Karl Schirdewan, who in 1958 was removed from all party offices in a clash with Walter Ulbricht because of "forming groups within the party." Schirdewan had taken over the chairmanship of the SED Executive Western Commission. From 1953 until his disciplining in 1958, he was a member of the SED Politburo.

Expellees Listed

LD2101045590

[Editorial Report] East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 0410 GMT on 21 January carries a Berlin-datelined report stating that "the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Secretary General and GDR State Council Chairman Egon Krenz has been expelled from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. With him, the following members and candidate members of the former SED Politburo had to leave the party: Hans-Joachim Bohme, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrman, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Inge Lange, Erich Muckenberger, Margarete Muller, Alfred Neumann, Gunter Schabowski, Gerhard Schurer, and Werner Walde." According to ADN, "This comes from a press communique issued early on Sunday [21 January] about a meeting of the Central Arbitration Commission [Zentrale Schiedskommission] of the SED-PDS, which took place in Berlin on Saturday and Sunday."

Krenz Appeals Expulsion

LD2101153290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1514 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz has registered a protest against his expulsion from the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism]. In a statement given to ADN today, he refers to the fact that during his time in office as general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, chairman of the GDR Council of State and chairman of the National Defense Council, the peaceful and nonviolent progress of the GDR's revolutionary change was guaranteed.

"I hope one day a more objective judgment of my role in the party, about what succeeded in a complicated time, as well as about my mistakes and errors, will follow the SED-PDS Arbitration Commission's decision," Krenz stated. "I wish this, and not only for my sake."

Weimar Council Resigns From SED-PDS

LD1701153290 Hamburg DPA in German 1350 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Weimar/GDR (DPA)—The SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany/Party of Democratic Socialism] will no longer have any influence on forthcoming political decisions in the Council of the Thuringian town of Weimar. All council members, who were previously members of the party, left the SED-PDS on Wednesday with Chief Mayor Volkhardt Germer at their head.

Germer and members of the municipal authorities of the town in the Erfurt Area, which has 60,000 inhabitants, surprised FDP Landtag deputies from Hesse with this announcement. The lieral parliamentarians from Wiesbaden were being briefed in Thuringia in talks with representatives of the bloc parties, the reform groups and the administration on possibilities of aid from Hesse to improve the living conditions in that GDR region.

Chief Mayor Germer told the members of the FDP parliamentary group that he and his political friends had decided on this step "out of concern for further developments in the GDR." They had counted on the SED-PDS will and readiness to reform after its Berlin party congress. The "historic chance for decisive changes and a new orientation of the party" had been wasted, however.

SED-PDS Official Foresees Opposition Role

LD1901150390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1237 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Salzburg (ADN)—Since all other parties in the GDR have made clear statements rejecting a coalition with the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism], the party will have to go into opposition after the 6 May elections. It would not have a majority. This view was put forward by Deputy Party Chairman Wolfgang Berghofer today, speaking to journalists in Salzburg.

Berghofer was signing a sister-city agreement with the city here in his capacity as chief mayor of Dresden.

In recognition of this situation, Berghofer said, there would still be "radical changes" in the party in the next few months.

He does not personally want to make any statements on the possibility of his going over to the SPD [Social Democratic Party]. However, that party is at present the most advanced political force in the GDR, with clear programmatic statements. Drawing on the traditions of social-democracy in Germany, the SPD will soon find a "mass basis."

He hopes, Berghofer said, that there would be free elections on 6 May. There is a danger that it would not be possible to direct the democratization process to that point in a calm and self-controlled manner. The latest events in the GDR give him cause for concern.

Dissolution of SED-PDS Subject of Debate

Gysi on Disbandment

LD1901202490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1931 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—This evening, hundreds of participants in a function in the Congress Hall of the party executive building in Berlin spoke against the demand by various SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] platforms and basic organizations that the party disband itself. The unanimous view of those present was that a disbandment was out of the question.

Party Chairman Gregor Gysi said to GDR Television that he believed that, in the final analysis, a disbandment could not be justified politically, because instability would befall the country, which could drag behind it dangers far over and above the country, dangers even for perestroyka in the Soviet Union, dangers also in respect of the GDR's frontiers with the Republic of Poland. "And I think that one is also making it a bit too easy for oneself. The situation is serious, and I know that one can stand in great personal conflicts and that one can also be tired, tired of all things, if one is also exposed to personal attacks that one is not used to. Most members have nothing to reproach themselves for; they simply lived and worked, like the others."

Gregor Gysi emphasized that the party has a real chance to survive if it renews itself in a more radical way than it has during the last 4 weeks. "We have to tackle political, organizational, and other questions much more consistently." [passage omitted]

Gysi Responds to Berghofer

LD1901200190 Hamburg DPA in German 1719 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—SED Chairman Gregor Gysi knows nothing of his deputy Berghofer's plans to leave the party. This evening he described a report by BILD that Berghofer had already told the party executive this as nonsense. Two days ago he received birthday congratulations from Berghofer with assurances from the latter: "I remain your comrade-in-arms," Gysi told DPA and ZDF's correspondents at the party executive building in East Berlin.

He called demands for the dissolution of the SED-PDS a "disaster." They will not be successful in forming a new party under present conditions. The SED-PDS is the only force that still guarantees an independent GDR and thus stability in Europe. "Otherwise, everything will start to fall apart, in your country, too," Gysi said.

Afterward, he addressed a meeting of several thousand Berlin SED-PDS members who accuse the leadership of overcoming the old structures too slowly. Journalists were not able to take part in the meeting.

Berghofer on Dissolution

AU1901221390 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Interview with Wolfgang Berghofer, mayor of Dresden and deputy chairman of the SED-PDS, by Gerhard Lindinger in Salzburg on 19 January—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Lindinger] What is your relationship with Gregor Gysi like? Is he a trustworthy reformer for you in the GDR?

[Berghofer] Gregor Gysi is a man of integrity who is trying to advance renewal with all his strength. Still, we are not Siamese twins. By the way, I do not want to judge the party chairman.

[Lindinger] News reached us from the GDR today that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] has been requested to dissolve itself. What is your opinion?

[Berghofer] This demand is the result of a wrong and bad—not to say evil—policy. Thus, this demand is understandable. I cannot decide this. This must be done by the party members. I think that a decision will have to be made in the next few days, one way or the other. For me the SED as a party no longer has any right to exist unless it undergoes a radical renewal, both concerning the program and its name.

[Lindinger] You are still deputy chairman of the party. If this does not happen, would you cancel your membership in this party? There are rumors that you would join the Social Democratic Party of the GDR.

[Berghofer] You must understand that I do not want to answer this question in front of a foreign camera.

[Lindinger] The idea of reunification of the two German states has recently reemerged. What is your opinion on this issue?

[Berghofer] After many years, we have again started to sing the text of our national anthem, which includes the line: Germany, united fatherland. This refers to the end of a process of development in the whole of Europe in which German development is embedded. One nation and two states will, after a longer period of time, achieve state unity in a Europe without borders. I am skeptical about a quick reunification; I consider it dangerous and illusionary.

[Lindinger] Mr. Mayor, what about the treaty-based community with the FRG? How do you see this at present?

[Berghofer] I think that it was a brilliant idea to establish a treaty-based community because this would the basis on which the two German states could move closer to each other and grow together. However, the FRG Government has signalled that this community will not be realized before the elections. For me a treaty-based community includes an economic community, a monetary union, and initial confederative structures, because this process must be controlled jointly. [passage omitted]

Opposed by Berlin Executive

LD1001185590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1412 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The information disseminated in the media of the GDR and other states on a joint position paper by various platforms within the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] have been noted by the party Presidium, a spokesman of the SED-PDS executive has said in response to questioning. This paper was the outcome of talks between representatives of these platforms and had been discussed neither in the Presidium or executive of the party. The party executive would form an opinion on this at its meeting tomorrow. [passage omitted]

The district chairman of the Berlin SED-PDS party organizations spoke out against the dissolution of the party in a statement today. The SED-PDS district executive of the Humboldt University says that the statement published yesterday, which rigorously demands the dissolution of the party, is not a view that has been either authorized or put forward by the district executive or the basic organization of the Charite hospital. In an open letter to all SED-PDS members of the university, the district executive stresses resolute support for the renewal of the party with steadfastness and active contributions.

The statement by the district chairmen demands of the party executive "a comprehensive speeding up of the break with Stalinism." This means expulsion of members of the old party leadership from the SED-PDS, exposure of the interaction between the SED and the Ministry of State Security, expulsion of all SED members who have committed misuse of office or oppose the renewal of the party, and exposure of party assets and election fraud. A decision on the continuing existence of the party and its name could only be made by the party grass roots in a ballot, it states.

The Presidium of the Berlin SED-PDS Area executive has supported the statement. The party's Lichtenberg district executive has announced its intention to call a mass demonstration if the demands are not met.

Gysi Against Dissolution

LD2001185290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1831 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] party executive has been in session in Berlin since Saturday [20 January] morning. There is great interest in the session since demands by various bodies for self-dissolution of the party were raised yesterday.

The party executive spokesman, Manfred Woler, has meanwhile announced that the chairman, Dr. Gregor Gysi, is concentrating in his report on the argument for and against the issue of the party's self-dissolution, and that he has also analyzed the possible consequences within a national and international framework. The long and short of it is, the spokesman said, that Dr. Gysi spoke against dissolution.

Halle Mayor Resigns From SED-PDS

LD1901185990 Hamburg DPA in German 1457 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Karlsruhe/Halle (DPA)—Eckhard Pratsch (36), the chief mayor of Halle, Karlsruhe's sister city in the GDR, has resigned from the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism]. This was confirmed by the Office of the Chief Mayor on Friday in response to an enquiry from DPA in Karlsruhe. Reasons for Pratsch's resignation were not given. A few days ago, during a visit to Karlsruhe, the chief mayor of Halle had pointed to the catastrophic condition of the old part of the town. He had arranged with his counterpart, Gerhard Seiler, for "immediate help" for buildings under the acute threat of decay; this aid is due to commence within the next 4 weeks.

SED-PDS Offers Opposition Responsibility

LD2101094690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0126 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The executive of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] has offered the GDR's opposition parties and movements responsibility within the government and has proposed electing an independent council of state chairman. At the same time, the party executive rejected the disbandment of the SED-PDS at its meeting, which lasted all day Saturday [20 January].

As Party Chairman Gregor Gysi said at a news conference in the early hours of Sunday morning in Berlin, in the view of the party executive, members of parties and movements that are not members of the coalition should be invested to take over ministerial functions in the Modrow government that had so far been held by his party. The proposal was put forward to the roundtable that members of opposition parties and movements be asked to take on part of the responsibility for running the country at all levels. Finally, the party executive came out in favor of asking an independent candidate to stand for the office of Council of State chairman.

A document to the roundtable speaks of it being regarded as necessary, in view of the situation in the country, to stop polarization. In places it went as far as demanding the disbandment of the SED-PDS and, in some cases, wanting to force this by strikes.

"Our party's disappearance would be tantamount to falsifying the democratic relationship between the intellectual and political forces in our country," it is stressed. The SED-PDS supported political parties' movements and organizations holding the debates under worthy and civilized conditions.

Gregor Gysi said that radical renewal and consolidation continued to be paramount for the SED-PDS, not the election campaign. At the previous all-day session, the members of the executive decided to use their strength more in the interests of the people and the country and less for the party. Thus, the increasing polarization of the population is to be countered.

The meeting of the SED-PDS party executive, which began on Saturday morning, met with great interest because on Friday various platforms called on the party to disband itself.

Gysi Discusses SED-PDS Party Renewal

LD2101100790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0232 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The party executive of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] yesterday decided to abolish the party's emblem to date and thus the party badge. By the next party congress, which might take place, enough renewal is to be achieved to make it possible in the future only to bear the name Party of Democratic Socialism and thus to be a new party. The party chairman, Gregor Gysi, announced this in the early hours of this morning at a new conference in Berlin.

The party executive expected the GDR's judicial authorities to speed up the proceedings against members of the former state and party leadership. The disbandment of the Office for National Security should take place ahead of schedule under civilian control and not be left until 30 June, 1990.

By the time of the news conference, the Arbitration Commission, which was meeting at the same time, had decided to expel Joachim Herrmann and Margarete Mueller from the party. According to Gysi, all members and candidate members of the former Politburo who are not in custody had been summoned. Decisions on Egon Krenz, Guenter Schabowski, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer were due very soon.

Gregor Gysi again denied press reports that his deputy, Wolfgang Berghofer, intended to leave the party. The two men would talk immediately after Berghofer's return from Austria. Gysi said that four members had left the executive.

After a long, careful and in parts controversial debate, the party executive of the SED-PDS rejected the disbandment of the party. According to Gysi, because of the situation in the country, which had dramatically come to a head, the executive had been confronted with the historic question of the benefits or damage to democratic renewal by the party's continued existence. In this the executive could not ignore the fact that a large part of the population and party members themselves wanted the disbandment of the SED-PDS.

As the extraordinary party congress had made it clear, Gysi said, that the old SED with its Stalinist structures could be of no benefit to the people either in the present or the future but could only be of detriment to them, the question arose whether the party, which was developing into the Party of Democratic Socialism, was needed now and in the future in the life of society in the GDR. The emotional bond of many party members was not sufficient to affirm this.

The party executive had come to the conclusion that the disbandment of the party could not reduce the polarization of society and the extent of tensions. On the contrary: It was to be feared that there would be a transfer of the polarization with increasing tension during which the feeling of hopelessness and defenselessness of individuals would increase. In addition to this, there was the fact that people and ideas cannot be disbanded. The party executive started from the assumption that democratic renewal in the GDR, the treaty-based community between the two German states within our German nation, and the development towards a united Europe also required strong left-wing forces in the political spectrum. The Party of Democratic Socialism would be an important factor within this left-wing spectrum.

Gysi placed the SED-PDS to the left of the SPD [Socialist Democratic Party of Germany] within the current specturm of parties. An above-average number of resignations from the party had been registered in regions close to the border with the FRG and in the south of the GDR. According to Gysi, they had to reckon with more resignations. He considered a split in the party hardly possible. Such a radical renewal of the party was inevitably linked to a quantitative loss of substance.

The socialist idea could be the only motivation for party membership. While in the past careerist considerations may have played a role, that was currently ruled out, Gysi went on to state. In this very fact lay one of the greatest opportunities along the path towards a new party. Mistakes were also being made by the party leadership along the path of renewal, Gysi stressed. This was linked, among other things, to the fact that old thinking was still part of almost every member even if it was to a varying degree.

On the other hand, there were members who were very consciously hampering the process of renewal. It had to be taken into account that no illusionary expectations should be linked to a process that had only lasted 5 years. [as received]

Gysi listed necessary steps for developing into a new party. Thus arbitration commissions at all levels should quickly see to it that members were expelled from the party who had violated criminal laws or had been particularly prominent in the past for the ruthless disciplining of those who thought differently both in and outside the party. The rehabilitation proceedings had to be continued with commitment.

The party executive as well as the area executives and district executives had to part with such political employees who limited the credibility of the process of renewal because of their political past. The reduction in the number of paid employees had to be continued.

The party executive also decided that party enterprises could be transferred to cooperative ownership instead of state ownership if the employees so wish.

The district and area executives were empowered to decide independently on the future use of party buildings or parts of them. At the forefront in this were the solution of tasks in the health and social services, of local issues and their use by other parties and movements who did not have sufficient premises at their disposal. Gysi quoted the executive's resolution.

The financial department of the former Central Committee was instructed to finally present the annual accounts for 1989 after examination by the Arbitration Commission and an inventory of monetary assets by 31 January 1990. Some of the money should be made available to the health and social services, as well as for cultural institutions and environmental projects. An additional sum would be used for the social security of departing employees in accordance with the valid laws.

In Gysi's opinion, renewal and consolidation and not the election campaign was most important for the party. They had no interest in a polarization in the population, but it was a matter of taking up the responsibility laid upon the party by the voters in the first free, democratic, and secret elections. The other parties and movements were asked not to campaign against the existence of the SED-PDS.

The party executive passed the resolution with 80 votes in favor, 7 abstentions, and 2 against.

SED-PDS Members' Resignation Statement

LD2101191990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1804 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—The text of the joint statement signed by Wolfgang Berghofer and another 39 Dresden party members, who resigned from the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] today, reads thus:

"The old SED and its leadership ruined the GDR in a shameful and irresponsible manner, politically, economically, and morally. This brought all party members, even those who were critical and keen for reform, into moral disrepute and robbed them of their political home.

Any attempt to proceed along new paths in this party with the SED's inherited burden intensifies many people's fear of a restoration of the SED. We, who have personally stood up actively for radical renewal of the SED-PDS, cannot see that this party has the political strength to change itself fundamentally and to help overcome the deep crisis in our country at the side of the democratic forces.

In deep concern for our country, we the undersigned declare our resignation from the SED-PDS. We connect with this step the urgent demand for the disbandment of the SED-PDS.

We do not intend to use our resignation from the party to evade our share of responsibility for the past. We intend to join in work for democratic renewal.

GDR citizens need confidence in and courage for the future, for tens of thousands are still leaving their homeland. The most urgent things now are democratization, the rule of law, an efficienct economy, and cultural identity. This is the only way that the political and social destablization of the country can be stopped. We support it.

We support Prime Minister Hans Modrow, above all, in taking consistent steps towards an ecologically oriented social market economy.

To accelerate the urgently necessary economic reform, we support economic unification and a currency union between the two German states with swift partial convertibility of the GDR mark. We advocate a growing together of the two German states within the framework of European unity and support the formation of state structures in the GDR. We support the tenets of the social democratic program.

The signatories of the statement are prepared for democratic cooperation in their spheres of responsibility, as long as it is necessary.

We are not concerned with political office. Therefore, we shall not be seeking mandates in the election on 6 May 1990.

Dresden, 21 January 1990"

(There follow 40 signatures.) [ADN note]

Gysi Expresses 'Deep Regret' Over Resignations

LD2101202390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1927 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Gregor Gysi, the chairman of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] has taken note of Wolfgang Berghofer's resignation from the party with deep regret. In a telephone call with GDR television's "Aktuelle Kamera" this evening, he stated that he had learned of Berghofer's intention to leave the SED-PDS out of concern for the GDR in a long letter from Berghofer yesterday. No intention to join another party had been discernible from the letter.

Gysi would like to speak to Berghofer in person, not to question his decision but to clear up questions regarding the substance. [passage omitted]

CDU Leader Discusses Alliance With Modrow

LD2001045690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2042 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] will stay in Modrow's coalition government. A very large majority of the Presidium of the Party Executive voted for this today in Berlin. The Party Chairman Lothar de Maiziere announced this to the international press afterward. He justified this step by saying that "we went into this govenment with the conviction that the people in the GDR had to be led to free elections." The CDU chairman admitted that there had been very strong differentiation processes within the coalition that also affected the largest government party. This had made the basis of the coalition increasingly narrow. In reply to the question as to whether the CDU would set conditions for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialist [SED-PDS], he replied that if it did at all, then it would, in any case, not be in front of television cameras.

Lothar de Maiziere gave the assurance that he had been in complete agreement with General Secretary Kirchner on the fact that there had to be a government without the participation of the SED-PDS after the elections. With regard to the strategy, there had been agreement. There had been varied opinions of how this should be reached tactically. Kirchner spoke of an "unbroken relationship of trust" to the chairman.

The Liberal Democratic Party of Germany's statement on the coalition had not played a role in the discussion, the chairman stated. [passage omitted]

Leaders Discuss Coalition

LD2101135990 Hamburg DPA in German 1300 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR's CDU [Christian Democratic Union] has called on the opposition parties to take on governmental responsibility. CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere said in an interview today with DPA that until the free elections on 6 May, a grand coalition should be formed between the parties in the coalition government under Prime Minister Hans Modrow (SED-PDS) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] and the new opposition parties who sit at the roundtable. It is "necessary" for all parties to take on responsibility.

To reach 6 May, either all parties must take responsibility or accept "that others no longer" participate in the government and thus, at the same time, not rule out the CDU withdrawing from the current coalition government.

The general secretary of the Eastern CDU, Martin Kirchner, repeated his opinion that the CDU can no longer remain in the government. The current situation is "intolerable," he told DPA. He too spoke in favor of an immediate government reshuffle with the participation of the opposition parties. In the next few days the Presidium will again deal with the issue of remaining in the government. Last Friday [19 January] this body decided, after several hours of debate, to continue to take governmental responsibility for the time being.

The CDU was strongly criticized for this by the general secretary of the Federal CDU, Volker Ruehe. Ruehe accused the Eastern CDU of "missing its last opportunity to remove doubts on the part of people in the GDR about the credibility of its will to reform." Kirchner contradicted him. "It was not yet the last chance we had." Judging the situation in the GDR is something "that must be done in the GDR."

He wanted clear support by the Federal CDU: "Things will not work without the Eastern CDU." De Maiziere was also critical. "That may be his opinion," he said of Ruehe's statements. The Eastern CDU is clearly the strongest C [not further identified] force "to which people will have to speak."

The CDU felt itself "kicked out" by the founding of the German Social Union (DSU), Kirchner said. He regrets that the CDU was "deliberately excluded" from its foundation. He accused the DSU of a lack of "political sobriety." The C parties should not allow themselves to become divided. Electoral victory is only possible if they go into the elections together.

Weimar CDU Wants Out

LD2001222590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1453 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—Today in Weimar, the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] founding party congress for the region of Thuringia wound up with a request from the newly founded regional association of Thuringia to the CDU Presidium to leave the Modrow government. The People's Chamber group was called on to switch to the parliamentary opposition.

Previously, the 220 delegates had elected, by a great majority, the deputy director of the Wartburg foundation, Uwe Ehrich, to be first regional chairman of the CDU. CDU General Secretary Martin Kirchner stated that before the CDU regular party congress convenes for the beginning of March in Berlin, the restoration of the regional associations will take place throughout the GDR.

He was greeted with tumultuous applause when he opposed the CDU Presidium's resolution made yesterday to remain in the Modrow government. He still thinks that the CDU and the SED-PDS [Social Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] were as incompatible as fire and water. A government can only be for crisis management now but is not legitimized to make decisions reaching over and above the elections on 6 May, as he said the present Modrow government is trying to do. The CDU has to go into the opposition.

In case the Presidium decides once again to continue to stay in the government, Martin Kirchner, elected general secretary only in December, did not rule out the possibility that he will resign.

LDPD Ponders Future of Coalition Government

LD1701152990 Hamburg DPA in German 1427 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin—The Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD) continue to stand by the government of Hans Modrow (SED-PDS) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism]. However, it is not tied to the coalition "at all costs," press spokesman Klaus Puschke told DPA.

If the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] coalition partner left the government, this would not mean that the LDPD must follow. The Liberal Democrats would consider such a step without "looking at the CDU for an example." The LDPD is for a governable GDR. However, remaining in the coalition depends on how quickly some of its ideas, for example in the economy, are implemented. [passage omitted]

Chairman Favors Unity

LD1901184690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1329 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Manfred Gerlach, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] chairman, spoke in favor of representatives of the parties and groups involved in the roundtable to participate in the government at ministerial level at today's session of his party's central executive in Berlin. [passage omitted]

Manfred Gerlach, the acting chairman of the GDR's Council of State, also spoke in favor of German unity, as quickly as possible. However, this must be done with a sense of perspective, "with responsibility for the people of the GDR, for the German nation, and for all the nations of Europe."

The LDPD chairman said that members are demanding a change in the party's name. This should be a matter for the LDPD programmatical party congress in March of this year.

The LDPD chairman rejected the call raised within the party for the executive's resignation because in a few days a new LDPD leadership will be elected by the party conrgess.

Gerlach spoke in favor of the swift and radical implementation of the proces of democracy in the GDR, but without violence or strikes. Work stoppages should be the last resort for pressing demands.

Will Stay in Coalition

LD1901151490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1451 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party] Central Executive decided with a large majority this afternoon to remain in the Modrow coalition government.

Gerlach Opposes Role

LD1901154990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1129 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At a session of his party's central executive in Berlin, LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party] Chairman Manfred Gerlach today supported participation in the government at ministerial level by representatives of the parties and groupings taking part in the roundtable. He proposed that the opposition should be offered any vacant CDU [Christian Democratic Union] ministerial posts and called on the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] to give up ministerial posts that it occupied for that purpose.

Gerlach also submitted a proposal to fill the post of president of the Supreme Court with a public figure from the ranks of the opposition.

The LDPD leader further underlined his party's position of not entering into a coalition with the SED-PDS after the People's Chamber elections in May. At the same time, he ruled out a coalition with right- and left-wing radical forces. The LDPD takes the view, Gerlach said, that the SED-PDS as a party is responsible for the present state of the GDR. For that reason it is necessary for the internal renewal of society that the SED-PDS should go into oppositon after the 6 May People's Chamber elections.

LDPD, CDU Reaffirm Loyalty to Government

LD2201133290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1013 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Representatives of the GDR Government parties, the ldpd [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] and the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] have reaffirmed their loyalty to Modrow's government. At the ninth session of the GDR central roundtable today in Berlin, they backed the appeal not to endanger developments in the GDR through a general strike. The LDPD and the CDU called on the opposition to accept the offer of entering the government. "A grand transition coalition" is necessary.

Ibrahim Boehme, business manager of the opposition SPD [Socialist Democratic Party] stated that participation in the government would only be possible for his party if "all parties and groups at the roundtable are ready in an emergency to enter the government without long weeks of coalition negotiations." The SPD proposes talks with the government on criteria for such an emergency.

SPD Outlines Program at Delegates' Conference

AU1801101890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "GDR's SPD States: Power in This Country is Involved"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—At the national delegates' conference of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] in Berlin, the second SPD spokesman, Markus Meckel, presented basic statements of his party on the upcoming elections. The question as to who will assume power in this country will dominate the election campaign. "We want to assume the power because we believe that we are best suited to hold the power in this country."

The further development should be characterized by the slogan "legal security instead of state security." "Freedom and law—this is the best protection for our citizens," he stated. "Real satisfaction on the part of the citizens alone can guarantee real security for the state." The Social Democrats advocate democracy and the rule of law, openness, diversity, and tolerance. People's rights must be ensured. Free legal assistance and clear laws must be created. Instead of 1 day a week on which people can turn to the authorities, this should be possible all week. "We Social Democrats advocate freedom for those who think differently, because real freedom can only be realized in this way. We support a society in which solidarity prevails and in which the old, the handicapped, and the sick are not merely taken care of while being excluded from society. We want a society that accepts them in everyday life." Every decision concerning the state and society should be taken in close cooperation with the citizens.

Meckel also supported the reintroduction of the state, which would lead to the dismantling of the "bureaucratic monster." The party supports far-reaching self-administration by the municipalities.

Democracy needs free media, he stressed. To achieve this, the monopolist media concern of the SED must be dismantled. Television and radio should primarily be subject to public law, but private television and radio should also be possible. However, publishers and owners must not be allowed to tell the journalists what they have to write or broadcast. [passage omitted]

On the first day of the conference, Executive Secretary Ibrahim Boehme addressed the delegates in a very emphatic way. He spoke of the peaceful revolution in the GDR, which must continue to be peaceful in the future. At the same time he rejected any kind of extremism, both from the right and the left. He spoke of the political heritage and the traditions of the social democratic movement that is embodied in the SPD in the GDR. [passage omitted]

After his greetings address, SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel answered question of press representatives in the Congress Hall at Berlin's Alexander Square on Sunday [13 January]. He mentioned the seizure and expropriation of the SPD's property in 1933 by the fascists. The topic has become a political issue now. As in Hungary, the CSSR, and Poland, there will also be a discussion about the property of the former state party, he stated.

Editorial Views SPD Delegates' Conference

AU1801102590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jan 90 p 2

[Peter Kirschey editorial: "Self-Confident Antiparty"]

[Text] One thing is clear, at least since last weekend [12-13 January]: The social democracy in the GDR, which changed its name from SDP to SPD [Social Democratic Party], is a serious political force in our country with a claim to power after 6 May. As has become clear at its first delegates' conference in Berlin, it is, above all, trying to acquire a strong image as an anti-SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] party because its proclaimed goal is to deal the SED-PDS a deathblow, as one speaker openly admitted. Other speakers also made this more or less clear.

There is no doubt that, psychologically, the SPD is currently on the upswing. Many delegates suffered massive reprisals under Stalinist structures because of their critical positions. Thus, it is quite understandable that many speeches were highly emotional, that a lack of objectivity sometimes resulted in incorrect statements. During the past few years, they worked in human rights, peace, and environmental initiatives—which were viewed with suspicion not only by the state power—and formed communities characterized by solidarity.

This makes a young—3-month-old—party self-confident. The fact that it does not have to carry heavy burdens from the past helps the party to compensate for its lack of a clear program. However, certain points have become clear. On the German issue, the unity of the German nation, and the economic and monetary union, remaining in the all-European unification process while respecting the inviolability of borders is the goal of social democratic policy, the statement stresses. The party's statements on human rights, a democratic state system, ecology, economy, social and family policy, education, science, and culture are in keeping with democratic renewal.

Concerning its role in history, the party sees itself in the traditions of the German and international social democracy, as Executive Secretary Ibrahim Boehme stressed in a moderate statement on the party's position. However, the old claim to be the sole legitimate representative of the historical heritage cannot be replaced by a new one: Numerous honest Social Democrats vehemently supported party unity and found a political home within the SED. They passionately advocated this during the past decades. Even if it was not popular to say this, the social democratic element in our party has never ceased to exist.

There was as lot of talk at the conference about property. Gregor Gysi has made a very clear statement in this connection: The SED-PDS will claim no other party's property. This is the word of a democrat. One can only hope that the SPD will also stick to its statement that the party wants to cooperate with all democrats, even if this might be very difficult from the current or past viewpoints.

SPD Statement on Fate of SED-PDS

LD2101215990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"A sober analysis of the current state of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] must reach the conclusion that this party is in a process of disbandment, which is the result of a 40-year historical journey down a cul-de-sac and the expression of the lack of prospects of the SED social concept." This was said in a statement on the SED-PDS desire not to disband itself that Olaf R. Spittel, the head of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] in the GDR press office, gave to ADN today.

"The SPD does not see it as its task to give other parties tips on how they can solve their internal party problems. In a situation that is so important for the future of our country, the SPD would, however, like to refer emphatically to the fact that it does not believe that the future of the SED-PDS is linked inseparably with the future of its members.

We ask the PDS whether, in the interests of our country, it can still carry on accepting the responsibilty for continuing to shackle the fates of important and competent personalities to the fate of a declining party.

In the SPD's opinion, this country cannot afford out of misunderstood party reasons and a sense of duty toward a wrong cause to do without the cooperation of many personalities whose expert knowledge in all spheres of shaping of this society are needed now more than ever.

The SPD intends to conduct its election campaign not against people but against parties and ideologies. We place our hopes in the capabilities of people to learn, and we trust in the sense of responsibility of every individual."

14th NDPD Party Congress Starts Session

LD2001115490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1026 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The 14th party congress of the NDPD [National Democratic Party] began this morning in Berlin's Congress Hall. During the 2-day consultations, 861 elected delegates will discuss the party's electoral program and a new statute, and thus contribute toward giving the NDPD a higher profile as a party of the center. At the start, this working party congress will hear a report from the main commission given by Chairman Guenter Hartmann.

The party congress has as its motto "For the future of the German nation." GDR Radio will report directly from the party congress. GDR Television will report on the events during their regular news programs as well as in special programs on both days. A total of over 100 correspondents from home and abroad are accredited. [passage omitted]

[ADN at 1046 GMT on 20 January carries the following report:

"The beginning of the discussions at the 14th party congress of the NDPD has been delayed. At the request of delegates there were prolonged and controversial debates on the agenda, election regulations, and standing orders, as well as on the composition of the Presidium. By noon the party congress had not yet started its actual work."]

Chairman Addresses Congress

LD2001185590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1446 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In his introduction to the report from the main commission, National Democratic Party [NDPD] Chairman Guenter Hartmann stated that the 14th NDPD party congress is taking place against the background of a politically and economically very complicated, still-intensifying situation in the GDR. The party is fighting "for its democratic renewal and, thus, for the renewal of our country into a social state based on the rule of law of the German nation and a humanist way of thinking." At present, the NDPD is in the process of identifying and asserting "itself as a political force of the center," Hartmann said.

His party takes the roundtable seriously. It welcomes the demonstrative approach of Prime Minister Modrow to the participants of the roundtable and sees in it "a hopeful sign for the further governability of our country."

The NDPD chairman emphasized that his party was the first to have considered the prospects of cooperative coexistence between the two German states and to have raised the question of a German confederation and corresponding state structure in the GDR, committed to Europe. It was also the first to suggest a sensible reprivatization of enterprises that is efficient for the national economy.

According to the latest surveys, the NDPD is seen as eligible for office by almost half a million GDR citizens, Hartmann said. It is viewed as the party that sees itself "as a solid and serious community of national and democratic advocates for the citizens" as well as being in favor of social justice. The NDPD presents a "political force of the center with a broad range of appeal also to the right and to the left, with the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] definitely excluded."

The speaker referred to the fact that the National Democrats are against right-wing nationalism and left-wing radicalism. They see themselves legitimized as antifascist from tradition, "national and never nationalistic." The NDPD is "German in a good sense." The nationalistic movement, Hartmann said, has never been in accord with the well-being of the people. The NDPD is part of the antifascist campaign and not the united front.

The NDPD "wishes as its declared goal for the deveopment into a unified German state via treaty-based community and a GDR-FRG confederation," the party chairman stated to long, hearty applause. This development has to be firmly embedded in the European unificaiton and disarmament process, embedded in "guarantees binding under international law, first and foremost, for the finality of the Polish western border."

The NDPD's objective is to ensure that European rapprochement and national identity do not cancel one another out, NDPD Chairman Hartmann said in the report of the main commission. The biggest challenge for all the European states is considered to be to open themselves up, to move closer together and yet to preserve the political, social, and cultural variety in Europe. The National Democrats advocate friendship with all the peoples, including the Soviet Union, "which with the breakthrough to a new thinking about Gorbachev has helped us to bring about our own democratic awakening."

The NDPD is for the rebirth of the middle classes, the party chairman said. Without the middle classes there can be no market economy. By this the NDPD understands the creation of small-scale efficient craft enterprises, independent cooperatives, as well as freedom to pursue independent gainful activity. The NDPD has called for the creation of a permament civil service.

Hartman said that a market economy would provide a new and better way for the GDR compared with the deformed and discredited socialism. For reasons of the citizens' social security requirement, public property should be retained to a certain extent. GDR currency should be made convertible over a period that is not drawn out too long.

The party has addressed itself to broad popular interests, Hartmann said, because it categorically calls for equal opportunities, freedom of education, science and research, as well as culture and the arts. It is highly aware of ecological concerns.

Referring to the NDPD's political responsibility and shared guilt in the past, Guenter Hartmann said it would be downright dishonest to say today that for 10 years the NDPD was in opposition to the SED. However, the members, in contrast to many SED members, joined the party not for reasons of careerism, but in search of a political home. The party's guilt overall consists in having been part of a multiparty system that merely pretended to offer scope. Any attempt at genuine independence foundered on the borders of the power held by others.

Since the publication of the necessarily incomplete action program in November, discussions have revolved primarily around the concepts of socialism and confederation. The current NDPD policy is pragmatic and was guided by the conceptions of those "who emerge from the shadows of a deformed and therefore discredited socialism and who yearn for a free, supportive, and constitutional polity."

The NDPD is striving for a coalition with all political forces that are in favor of a democratic society guided by a market economy, social- and performance-related concerns in the country, and who advocate the state unity of the Germans within the framework of an all-European peace order, Guenter Hartmann said. In his view, the SED can only go into opposition.

The NDPD's relations with the Modrow government depend on whether the ideas contained in the government statement of 17 November 1989 and the promises made at the roundtable 15 January are realized speedily and are clearly understandable for all the citizens, and whether the SED-PDS creates better conditions to the government for this than before. "We are for the uncompromising separation of the SED state, SED and economic management, and SED and scientific top positions. In this respect we will show no tolerance." The NDPD is in the Modrow government because it accepts its responsibility to the people. "Therefore, we remain in it and we are against an emergency government."

Guenter Hartmann declared at the party congress his readiness to step down. He sees his task as being available until an ordinary party congress has been convened. For many party friends, the renewal of the political profile of the party is believable only if there is a change of leadership. He proposed the present deputy chairman, Uwo Lassen, for this position.

Revised Statute Adopted

LD2101105890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0927 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The 14th NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] party congress adopted a revised party statute on Sunday morning. Accordingly, the name National Democratic Party of Germany will be retained unchanged.

The party's fundamental concern is the political struggle for the future of the German nation. Until the unification of Germany, it will continue to work on the basis of the Constitution and laws of the GDR. [passage omitted]

Glaeser Elected Chairman

LD2101131190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1258 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The delegates to the 14th NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] elected Wolfgang Glaeser as the new party chairman in a second ballot Sunday.

Congress Ends

LD2101154890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1524 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 14th NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] Congress ended in the Berlin Congress Hall on Sunday afternoon with a concluding address by the newly elected chairman, Wolfgang Glaeser. The party emerged from the 2-day conference united and unified, Glaeser emphasized.

All the forces now had to be concentrated on the election campaign. Fourteen weeks before the elections, in which the existence of the party was also at issue, he announced an "aggressive election campaign on all fronts," in particular against the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism].

Glaeser announced that the NDPD would continue the debate about its election program at an extraordinary party congress in March.

Earlier, Guenter Hartmann, Uwe Lassen, and Dr. Klaus-Christian Fischer were elected deputy party chairmen.

'Token' Strikes Occur in Gera, Jena

AU2001090190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Again Token Strikes"]

[Text] East Berlin—Token strikes lasting for several hours were held by the VEB Motor Traffic in Gera and Jena on Tuesday [16 January] to protest against the restoration of old power structures, mainly by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism. Working people from other enterprises also joined the strike. At an improvised meeting, several thousand participants demanded quicker results in the GDR's restructuring, particularly in the dissolution of the offices of the former Ministry of State Security. At the same time, they welcomed the offer by Prime Minister Modrow to cooperate with the opposition. There were also token strikes at the Bernburg enterprise unit of the Koethen motor traffic enterprise and in the coal trade enterprise in Weissenfels.

Health Workers, Students Hold Strikes

LD1901142690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1338 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)—A number of strikes and demonstrations for improved working and living conditions, above all in the health and education sector, took place in various GDR towns today. Workers in the health service held a rally in Berlin for longer vacations, increased wages, and improved working conditions. State Secretary Horst Schoenfelder told the crowd that his [Health] Ministry fully accepted their justified demands; a list of measures has been passed on to the government. The staff at a creche in the Berlin city district of Prenzlauer Berg staged a work stoppage this afternoon; students at the Leipzig Pedagogic College held a demonstration; and ambulance drivers in Frankfurt (Oder) held a 3-hour token strike.

Suhl Transportation Workers Stage Strike

LD1901114990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1122 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Suhl (ADN)—Public transport came to a complete standstill in Suhl for 3 hours this morning. Bus and taxi drivers staged a token strike to protest internal enterprise wage settlements, and demanded a unified wage structure for all employees of the GDR transport sector.

The token strike was joined by driving instructors and truck drivers. Cross-country traffic was also severely affected by the temporary strike.

Demonstration for Independent Trade Unions

LD2001131490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1021 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Several hundred trade unionists demonstrated in favor of strong and independent trade unions this morning on Berlin's Academy Square.

They had taken up an appeal from the committee of self-determination "Awakening 90" (Aufbruch 90), in which trade unionists from 17 Berlin enterprises have joined forces. Foreign guests were among the participants and speakers at the rally, along with representatives from trade union organizations from enterprises in the capital and other GDR localities. [passage omitted]

Demonstrators Call for SED-PDS Resignation

LD2001204890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1925 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Some 35,000 citizens demonstrated outside the town hall in Plauen (GDR area Karl-Marx-Stadt) on 20 January, demanding the resignation and dissolution of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism]. During the peaceful rally, at which various parties and citizens' movements put forward their election programs, these were also the main demands of the speakers.

Spokesmen for the Social Democratic Party—who also reminded the crowd of the legacy of the recently deceased Herbert Wehner, the Greens Party, and the Group of 20 expressed great concern about environmental protection. They urgently demanded that the Plauen factory "VEB Saechsische Zellwolle" be closed immediately because of pollution, and not delayed until 1994 as planned. A social program should be worked out for the several hundred employees. The demand was also raised for German Unity, about which there should be a referendum.

Greetings from Bavarian Prime Minister Streibl "to the heroic people of Plauen" were passed on by State Secretary Beckstein of the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior. He handed over photocopying equipment and office machinery to representatives of parties and movements.

50,000 Stage Symbolic Mock Escape to FRG

LD2101184290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1740 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—Over 50,000 residents of the Eichsfeld region of the GDR area of Erfurt left their homeland symbolically in a so-called trial run this afternoon. They demonstrated with suitcases, knapsacks, and travel bags from Teistungen near Worbis to the FRG settlement of Gerblingerode in Lower Saxony, which is near the border.

They were thus following a call from the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], which is spreading the slogan, "He who votes Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] votes for mass escape." The Eichsfeld residents declared on banners and items of luggage, "Today we'll go back again!" and "If the SED government stays, we'll give up our homeland!"

The demonstration march ended in Gerblingerode with a rally staged jointly by CDU members from Eichsfeld and Lower Saxony.

There were shouts of "We are one people!" and "Down with the SED!" The demonstrators demanded a united Germany and one Eichsfeld. This demand was backed up by the waving of numerous black, red, and gold flags.

Citizens Demonstrate Against SED-PDS Policy

LD2101170690 Hamburg DPA in German 1613 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Duderstadt (DPA)—Today around 50,000 GDR citizens demonstrated against SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] policy at the Lower Saxony border crossing of Duderstadt-Worbis (Goettingen rural district) with a symbolic mass exodus from the GDR.

According to the Federal Frontier Protection Force, whole families with suitcases in their hands went to the West for a few hours in order to make the GDR Government party aware of possible consequences of a further "delay in reforms" in the GDR. They bore banners with the slogan "This time we'll go back."

In an appeal to attend the protest, distributed in the GDR, it says, "We want to show what it looks like when an entire people leaves its country."

During a rally at the border crossing, local politicians from the GDR, mainly members of the Eastern CDU [Christian Democratic Union], and the Goettingen rural district councillor Willi Doering (CDU) emphasized their desire for the Eichsfeld region, which is close to the Harz and is divided by the border, to be united. After the rally, the GDR citizens returned to their homeland. The border crossing had been closed to traffic for several hours. No incidents were reported.

Interior Ministry Backs Roundtable on Security

LD1901142890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1405 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At a consultation in Berlin today, the leading staff of the GDR Ministry of the Interior clearly backed the statement made at the roundtable talks that security in the country is vitally necessary for the country and that continuing the process of democratic renewal is possible only with a "functioning police."

A statement by the press office of the ministry says that the Interior Ministry has invited representatives of the roundtable to discuss questions of joint interest.

The joint discussion of the security concept will help to shape trust between citizens and the People's Police on a new foundation, the statement says. Urgent tasks are at present structural changes, new educational content, full openness and unreserved orientation toward the citizen on a democratic and legal foundation. The joint discussion of the draft law on the People's Police and other legal foundations with roundtable representatives will help to support this process of confidence building.

Roundtable's 9th Session Opens 22 Jan

LD2201090490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0806 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Representatives from 16 GDR parties, political groupings and organizations are meeting at the Berlin Niederschoenhausen Castle on Monday morning for the ninth session of the GDR roundtable. It is expected that more parties and groupings will apply to take part in the discussions.

This session expects to hear a report by Premier Modrow and explanations from other government representatives, including about the disbandment of the former Office for National Security. Former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] General Secretary and GDR Council of State Chairman Egon Krenz, as well as Wolfgang Herger, former chief for security issues in the SED Central Committee, have been asked to appear before the plenum. The roundtable has asked the government to introduce the necessary steps to lift the pledges of secrecy of Krenz and Herger. [passage omitted]

Fischer on Foreign Policy

LD2201103290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0951 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The democratic renewal in the GDR has, right from the beginning, been inseparable from the opening up to the outside, above all to Europe, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer said at the central roundtable in Berlin today. It is distinctly tangible that the development of democratic dialogue in the GDR and the nonviolence of the revolution are strengthening the international positions. However, the necessary international trust can be gained and increased only when internal stability, security, and order are safeguarded and go hand in hand with a further opening up to and constructive cooperation with the outside world.

Oskar Fischer referred to the need for continuing and developing relations with the USSR, the neighboring countries of Poland and the CSSR, and other East European states, stressing the importance of the GDR's membership in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The process of democratization now taking place in all East European states creates new opportunities to join the all-European development and to help shape it. It is important for European equilibrium, Fischer said, that the striving for unity by the two German states takes place within the framework of the European unification process.

Foreign Minister Fischer said that the GDR will also contribute in the future, within the framework of its possibilities, toward solving global problems and will shape its relations with the developing countries.

Fischer on FRG Pact

LD2201103890 Hamburg DPA in German 0932 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR is eager to see an early agreement with the FRG on cooperation and neighborly relations. This was stated by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at the roundtable in East Berlin today. Further preconditions for this are to be created during Premier Hans Modrow's visit to Bonn in February.

The agreements concluded in December during Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Dresden are a good foundation for expanding relations. The treaty-based community envisioned could be developed later into a confederation. Even abroad there are no objections to an all-European confederation in which the two German states can grow together into a German state polity.

Modrow Announces Minister's Resignation

LD2201083390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0822 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Finance Minister Uta Nickel has handed in her resignation, Prime Minister Hans Modrow said in Berlin on Monday before the GDR central roundtable. He approved the resignation.

Investigative proceedings for "illegal payments to the disadvantage of socialist property" were instituted at the weekend against Uta Nickel by the prosecutor of the Leipzig Area, where the minister was active. Uta Nickel rejected the accusations as incorrect.

Sindermann, Junker in Custody for Embezzlement

LD2101110590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1047 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to the GDR prosecutor general, arrest warrants have been issued for the former functionaries and politicians Horst Sindermann (People's Chamber president and Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member), Wolfgang Junker (construction minister), and Kurt Kleinert (state secretary and head of the secretariat of the Council of Ministers).

Investigative proceedings have been instituted against Sinderman, Junker, and Kleinert for criminal embezzlement and for abuse of trust.

Those named above are in custody.

Prosecutor Seeks Arrest of Ex-SED Officials

LD1901163890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1503 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—The Rostock Area public prosecutor's office has applied for arrest warrants to be issued for Ernst Timm, former first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Area Executive, and Heinz Kochs, former chief mayor of Rostock and subsequently first secretary of the SED District Executive of Rostock city. This was announced today at a news briefing. According to investigations under way by the state financial auditor in the area, they utilized a property in Markgrafenheide, which was procured on the instructions of the City Council at a cost of m 22,400 from the people's deputy fund and handed over to the local housing industry under the pretext of building a vacation center there. Afterward, further budget reserves to the tune of nearly m 100,000 were spent on the duplex built there. There occupants, Ernst Timm and Heinz Kochs, only had to pay m 30 a month for rent there.

Herrmann Testifies Before Corruption Committee

LD1701195390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1758 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Joachim Herrmann testified on Wednesday afternoon before the temporary People's Chamber committee investigating abuse of office, corruption, and personal enrichment. The former Central Committee secretary, who had been summoned, was responsible in the old party leadership for the mass media and for the so-called bloc parties.

In the hearing, Joachim Herrmann admitted that in "instructing the mass media," the leading role of the SED, which had been anchored at that time in Article 1 of the Constitution, had been placed above Article 27, which establishes the right of every citizen to free expression of opinion and press freedom.

He realized today that, following from this understanding, directions sent to the media represented a violation of the Constitution. There had been an absolute law on instructing the mass media by former General Secretary Honecker. The latter had laid great value in the press, radio, television, and ADN on absolute adherence to "party discipline, the decisions of the party congresses, of the Politburo, and his own instructions." Above all, with regard to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Herrmann said. The heads of the media had also been instructed by him in this sense.

He had seen the deep contradiction between information policy and the reality of life, but he had not gone to the root of the problem, which would have required a change of policy, Herrmann said. "Success propaganda" had been law that, looking back, had proven itself wrong. The beginnings of critical assessment, above all concerning the economy, had been rigorously stopped.

In response to the question whether there had been censorship of the media by the Agitation Department of the former Central Committee, Herrmann spoke "of a kind of censorship, but also a kind of self-censorship" by journalists and a false understanding of party discipline by media managers. Changes to articles and broadcasts had always been effected, as he put it, "in cooperative collabration" with them. Asked about who was responsible for the instruction to strike SPUTNIK from the post office register of newspapers, Herrmann said that this had been an instruction from the general secretary. The latter had also dictated the report in which the minister of posts was named as the person responsible and he, Herrmann, had passed it on to ADN.

The former Central Committee secretary had to accept fully the accusation that journalists had been massively hampered in their work, particularly after August 1989 on the context of the exodus from the GDR. Not he, but Honecker himself, had inserted such a cyncial remark as "we shall not shed a tear for them" in the commentary put out under the auspices of ADN. Herrmann said that this and such other acts of disinformation had to be put down to the structure of the party apparatus and not the journalists.

Asked about the tasks of the "Allied Parties" department, Herrmann said that it was supposed to inform these parties about decisions by the SED leadership and ensure "voluntary cooperation." He himself had not exercised any direct influence.

The next complex of questions to Herrmann concerned the mechanisms of the decision-making process in the former Politburo. Wrong decisions about the situation in the country had been based on "glossing over matters" and hiding economic problems behind economic success figures. Important questions, for example on environmental policy, on the health service, education, or the independence of state security, had not been discussed at all or not discussed fully.

Herrmann was heard, in conclusion, on his claims to privileges as a Politburo member.

Following his statements, which coincided with the investigative committee's knowledge, committee member Professor Dr. Volker Klemm gave the assessment that the person summoned was one of those people who exploited the material advantages in a relatively small way.

State Council Issues Statement on Indictments

LD1701172890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1525 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR State Council today heard a report by the public prosecutor-general, Dr. Hans-Juergen Joseph, on his planned measures to speed up the implementation of criminal proceedings against those bearing the main responsibility for the crisis in the GDR. This took place in assessing the 14th People's Chamber session.

A statement by the State Council press office says that in the consultation, the expectation was expressed that the public prosecutor-general should press charges against these persons without delay.

It adds that the State Council proceeds on the assumption that at the next People's Chamber session the public prosecutor-general will, in accordance with the brief handed to him by the deputies, deliver a comprehensive and factual account of the concrete state of the current criminal proceedings against those bearing the major burden of guilt for the crisis in the GDR and those accused of misuse of office, corruption, and enrichment.

At the instigation of the State Council, the public prosecutor-general relieved the deputy public prosecutor-general, Dr. Harri Harrland, of his office due to shortcomings in the execution of duties and incompetent information to the People's Chamber. At the proposal of the public prosecutor-general, Hans Bauer and Guenter Seidel were confirmed as the new deputies by the State Council.

The State Council also heard a report by the president of the Supreme Court, Dr. Guenter Sarge, about his resignation from that function. He will submit to the People's Chamber a proposal for the election of a new Supreme Court president shortly.

During the session, the State Council urgently referred to the legally binding obligation of the public prosecutor-general's office to protect the peaceful life of citizens, public order, and the economy from criminal deeds. In view of the events over the last few days, the State Council appeals to all the country's citizens to ensure that the process of democratic renewal in the GDR can take place solely without violence, on the basis of the rule of law, and, while preserving dignity, in the interests of everyone.

Schabowski Appears Before Inquiry Commission

LD1701155490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1441 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—All the decisions and orders that led to intervention by the security forces in the capital on 7 and 8 October against demonstrators, and to their arrest, were made without the Berlin Area operational chiefs. Guenter Schabowski, former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member and first secretary of the Berlin SED Area Executive, made this clear today.

He told the ad hoc commission of the Berlin Assembly of City Councillors investigating the events of 7 and 8 October that the operational chiefs had not met at all during those days, and the Berlin police had not been under their command.

The whole affair, Schabowski said, according to his present information, had been exclusively the preserve of Erich Honecker and Erich Mielke. Honecker gave the decisive orders, he "took the matter into his own hands."

In response to questions from the commission members who repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction at what they considered to be inadequate evidence from Schabowski, he said that it was not until October that he learned of the brutal treatment of some of those arrested. He personally gave no orders to deploy the security forces. This applies also to the people's militia. He is also aware of no order by which the security forces were categorically instructed to carry out brutal actions against the demonstrators.

Schabowski admitted his share of responsibility for the overall political situation that culminated during the days of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. Members of the security organs were falsely instructed, politically. They saw the demonstrators as a part of a counterrevolution.

Commission members reproached Schabowski that he, as a leading politician in the SED at the time, obviously knew less about the events of 7 and 8 October than the entire city. His statements were frequently described as "inconceivable," "incredible," "grotesque," and "contradictory."

Schabowski said that in the SED leadership too little attention was paid to Honecker and Mielke's military measures in preparation for the 40th anniversary. At that time, there were already persons the Politburo who were seeking a change at the top of the party, the "overthrow of Honecker and of his closest henchman." But this came much too late and was an aftereffect of the people's protests. The aim of this group, which in retrospect did not wish to be seen as a "resistance group," was to react by political means to the demands of the population.

Those members of the former SED leadership working for Honecker's removal at first "worked more or less in isolation," Schabowski said. They were forced to act under "conspiratorial conditions." "Otherwise," he added, "we would have been thrown out immediately."

Many decisions under the Honecker leadership were based on a false evaluation of the political situation, Schabowski noted. "The false evaluation of the situation was a principle, it was an element of policy." In the media, reporting was according to the principle, in spite of the existence of FRG media, that "if we don't tell them then they won't know."

In the Politburo, which was by no means a collective leadership, what happened in real life was pushed aside, added Egon Krenz, who was questioned earlier. "People who had false assessments of the whole country dominated." Honecker pursued a flight from reality and "saw things from unrealistic viewpoints."

Mielke Blocked Criticism of 1989 Elections

LD1701121690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1139 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Rostock (ADN)—Erich Mielke, the erstwhile head of the GDR State Security Service, gave instructions, in an order on 19 May 1989, to prevent at all costs all critical evaluation of the local elections of 7 May, and "to deal with" the complainants. The document was discovered during an examination of executive documents in the former Rostock Area administration of the Ministry for State Security. Theology Profesor Dr. Jans Langer and other members of the independent Rostock committee of enquiry into the securing and examination of documents in the former Area Office for National Security gave information on this during a news conference today.

The order had already contributed to supplying a prefabricated text of answers on critical references to the election results at the time. Mielke made it clear that facts produced on this were not even to be discussed. The area managers were instead instructed to ensure a "thorough, strategic penetration" of opposition forces and to open prosecutions in agreement with superiors. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Addresses Commanders

LD1901175790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1629 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Army firmly supports renewal in the GDR and is prepared to defend it against adventurers or attempts at interference from outside, Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann said at a commanding officers meeting on 19 January. Stabilizing the Armed Forces, fulfilling the alliance commitment, and participating in the democratic reshaping of society are essential. He said that the National People's Army's (NVA) most important task is its contribution to perserving peace in the center of Europe. Old idols, conceptions, and structures are breaking down, and new ones have to be set up. Whatever the case, the great shared responsibility of the state and the Army ensures that the security situation, especially in central Europe, will not come apart at the seams. The objective is to gain and develop initial progress on the way of safeguarding peace. The GDR, as a recognized factor of stability on the continent, should not be destroyed. The Soviet Union's and allies' expectations in reliable defense should be fulfilled.

In looking after its specific security interests, the GDR has to protect its sovereignty and independence through the Armed Forces and help to bring about common European and confederate security structures of the two German states. Furthermore, confidence-building and demolishing hostile images and enmity have to be promoted; historically founded worries of the European people about the German military must be countered; preserving defense preparedness according to the principle of minimum sufficiency in the defense alliance must be contributed toward; and steps must be taken to avoid setbacks in the process of detente. "Peaceful, sensible, systematic steps of rapprochement, cooperation right up to confederation, as well as development that go even further, by the two German states cannot, in the foreseeable future, ignore the membership of the two sides of their respective alliance systems, he emphasized. [no closing quotation marks as received] Conscientious work by the NVA will promote the security process. From this will grow a highly commendable humanistic motive for military service. Therefore, he expects from the commanding officers at all levels that they will also face up to developing conscientious civic activity. Adm. Hoffmann presented Major General Oliver Anders, longstanding commander of a motorized infantry division, as being in charge of this area in the future.

In this connection, he referred to dividing the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] and the Army, as well as rigorously ending the practice whereby the policy of a party determines the nature of the army, its leadership, education, and training work. Hoffmann underlined that the committee of inquiry he sets up will have to bring its work to a speedy and thorough conclusion so that clear statements on guilt and innocence, failure, and abuse of office can be made with the resulting consequences. He announced that investigative proceedings were instituted against the former defense minister, Heinz Kessler.

Meets Citizens' Committees

LD1901221790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2125 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, the minister of national defense, received representatives from GDR citizens' committees from Berlin, Dresden, and Leipzig for talks. It emerges from a press statement from the citizens' committees given to ADN that their representatives had turned to the GDR State Prosecutor's Office demanding that files and documents belonging to the National Defense Council be secured, as they suspected that National Defense Council activities had been directed internally. Some of the citizens' committees from the areas had information that, in the former district and area Socialist Unity Party of Germany executives, by the end of last year, files from the respective area and district operational executives had been destroyed.

After the talks with Minister Hoffmann, three safes were sealed by the responsible military prosecutor in the presence of representatives of the citizens' committees. According to the head of the control group of the National Defense Council, Colonel Hertel, they contain the minutes of all sessions of the National Defense Council since its founding, as well as all the documents on principles issued.

Disbandment of Security Office Begins

LD1901205190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2001 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The citizens' committee and two delegates of the security working group of the roundtable, together with the government representative and the staff of the former Ministry of State Security employed for the disbandment of the Office for National Security, have begun their work. A press statement conveyed to ADN today emphasizes that the security partnership between the People's Police and the citizens' committee has been safeguarded.

The arms depot of the Berlin Normannen Street/Gotlinde Street premises have been cleared. These arms were handed over to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The dismissal of former employees of the Office for National Security has been continued since this this afternoon. All the conceptual and practical steps for the disbandment of the office are being controlled by the citizens' committee and the two delegates of the security working group, with the help of complete lists of property.

Storming of National Security Office Criticized

AU2001162390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jan 90 p 1

[Gerd Prokot commentary: "Nonviolent?"]

[Text] At 1724 ADN reported: "Headquarters of AfNS Stormed." The abbreviation stands for the Office for National Security on Normannenstrasse in Berlin, which has been dissolved by a government decision. A few minutes later, the roundtable interrupted its debate on a media law. At 1750 Konrad Weiss (Democracy Now) announced that the representatives of the opposition would immediately go to the scene of events to hold a discussion with the furious crowd and to prevent an escalation of violence.

The attitude of the representatives of the opposition, who banked on the authority gained by the roundtable, deserves respect in this situation. Responsibility for the internal peace of this country and for the safety of its citizens requires a consistent and speedy conclusion of the dissolution of the Office for National Security. However, responsibility also means finding out the possible consequences before calling a demonstration, so that things do not get out of hand. So far, numerous demonstrations have shown how a security partnership can be sensibly practiced. Accordingly, at the beginning of the seventh roundtable session, Premier Modrow appealed to all to use their political influence so that the internal development will continue without violence.

The slogan of "No violence" of the revolution of the street will become a farce if emotions sweep away the dams of reason.

The things that have been achieved by means of democratic renewal since the autumn are too valuable to be jeopardized by vandalism. As Modrow stated in front of the demonstrators, nonviolence and levelheadedness belong together. Those who play negligently with the people's rage, harm themselves and the country.

People's Chamber Presidium Prepares for Session

LD1901180390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1634 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A session of the People's Chamber Presidium in Berlin this afternoon prepared for the 15th session of the People's Chamber on 29 January. People's Chamber President Dr. Guenther Maleuda stated that GDR Supreme Court President Dr. Guenter Sarge submitted his resignation.

A report by the Council of Ministers on the country's economic situation and conclusions for stabilization, as well as the first reading of the electoral law, are to be among the main topics of the next People's Chamber session. The Presidium members designated Paul Eberle, chairman of the People's Chamber ad hoc commission to draw up the electoral law, to give a report on the commission's activities. Afterward, a representative of the roundtable working group on the issue is to have the opportunity to make a statement.

Also planned are reports from the state prosecuting attorney on the state of investigations into corruption and abuse of office, as well as on the conclusions of the examination of the attacks perpetrated by security authorities at the demonstration in connection with the 40th anniversary of the GDR. Furthermore, the government stand on activities of local authorities and its trusting cooperation with parties, social authorities, and political groups of the roundtables is to be presented.

Dr. Maleuda commented that, as a result of further changes to the draft, the law on civilian service can not be dealt with in its second reading on 29 January as originally been planned.

Spokesman Denies BILD Coup Attempt Report

LD2201081990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0334 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—BILD newspaper publishes outrageous imputations in its Monday edition about alleged "coup preparations by elite troops of the State Security Service and parts of the National People's Army" in the GDR. GDR government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer told ADN the BILD story is lies from start to finish. It is obviously aimed at undermining the incipient constructive cooperation between the Modrow government and the roundtable.

'Slandering of Journalists' Protested

LD1801222490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1620 GMT 18 Jan 90

["By ADN Chief Editor Matthias Wirzberger"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The remarks by the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member Joachim Herrmann to the People's Chamber investigating committee have caused indigantion among ADN journalists. We regard his statement that he had worked in comradely fashion with representatives of the media right to the end as outright mockery. The truth is that he tolerated no objection, let alone contradiction.

With the assistance of hand-picked henchmen, he forced through his ideas and the ideas of his master about how the GDR media, including ADN, was to report problems in our country and international events. Not only did he interfere in "Aktuelle Kamera" programs while they were running, but he also arrogated to himself the right to decide in an autocratic way on the content, wording and timing of ADN reports.

Last October we quite openly drew conclusions from the justified criticism of the media. We also admitted our own mistakes. Since then, comprehensive and truthful information that gives space equally to all political forces in the country has been the supreme principle of our work, and will remain so.

We strongly reject the attempt by the person formerly responsible for the media to change his own responsibility into inappropriate allocations of guilt and the slandering of journalists.

Ministry Rejects DPA Report on Rents

AU1901230090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Finance Ministry on Prices for Rents"]

[Text] East Berlin—The Ministry of Finance and Prices announces the following: The DPA press agency spread a report according to which the GDR intends to set the rent for living space that is used by citizens, in addition to the stipulated norm, at M7-14 per square meter. This is not true. A broad public discussion will be held on basic issues concerning changes in subsidies. It will not be possible to completely abolish subsidies for rents.

It can be stated with certainty at this point that prices of M4-7 per square meter are not envisioned, the ministry's statement continues. This will become clear to citizens in the GDR in the next few days when the proposals will be discussed in public.

Threats of Violence Against People Increase

AU1901230190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Threats of Violence Are Increasing in the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin—Several acts of violence by anonymous persons against persons and institutions were reported in the past few days. As the press office of the GDR Interior Ministry announced, the publishing house "Neuer Weg" in Halle received an envelope on the weekend [13-14 January] that contained a letter with a radical-anarchist text, signed by the "Black Brigades," and a small-bore cartridge. The publishing house was requested to publish the letter. In the case of noncompliance with the wish, revenge was vowed. In addition, officials at the building of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism in Werningerode received a call announcing arson. On Monday [15 January] all members of the Weimar District Council had to be evacuated temporarily because the council had received a bomb threat.

Last Week's Events in Azerbaijan Viewed

AU2201101290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jan 90 p 2

[Frank Wehner commentary: "Azerbaijan in Flames"]

[Text] Moscow—The reports from Azerbaijan do not only read like frontline reports—they are frontline reports. According to TASS, in the past few days 34 people were killed in anti-Armenian pogroms in Baku; local journalists speake of more than 50 victims. Thousands of members of Azerbaijani and Armenian combat troops armed with machine pistols or machine guns are confronting each other in Nagorno-Karabakh, Shaumyanovsk, and Chanlar.

Notwithstanding the fact that many reasonably minded inhabitants decidedly reject ethnic hatred, it is part of daily life. Tsarism fomented it in order to make its own rule possible. Stalin did not act differently, and Brezhnev did little to reduce the hostility that smoldered behind the facade of a "fraternal family of peoples."

Unfortunately, it has to be stated today that perestroyka has not changed much. The Karabakh conflict that broke out in February 1988 shows this. Although each of the parties involved must have realized long ago that it has no chance of emerging "victorious," they stubbornly oppose the compromise that is so urgently necessary.

The Supreme Soviets of Armenia and Azerbaijan fomented the situation anew only recently, the Supreme Soviet in Yerevan by including Karabakh, which belongs to Azerbaijan, into its 1990 state plan, the Supreme Soviet in Karabakh by announcing a "normalization program," which fully contradicts the USSR Supreme Soviet's constructive definitions of November 1989.

Now the answer has been given. The whole of Azerbaijan is in flames. The socioeconomic sphere is also on fire, and many fires of national conflicts were kindled precisely by this. Although perestroyka has resulted in some improvements, for example, in housing, most problems have remained unsolved. The supply situation is ghastly. The economic reform is wearily dragging on.

Thus, an appeal against "hooliganism" is not helpful at all. At a party aktiv conference 5 days before the bloody events, the essentials were outlined fairly clearly: consistency, the solution of narrow-minded nationalism, flexible reactions to questions that have developed, and, above all, action.

This finding is not new. One can only hope that it will finally be put into practice now that the volcano on which people are sitting is exploding.

Luft Views CEMA Membership as 'Crucial'

LD2201104890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1008 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Membership of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (CEMA) remains crucial for the GDR, which derives 90 percent of her imports of raw materials and energy from CEMA states. GDR Vice Premier Dr. Christa Luft said this at the GDR central roundtable in Berlin on Monday. There are relevant preliminary accords with the Soviet Union at present for safeguarding raw material supplies up to 1995. However, in the long term a decrease in supplies, especially oil, is quite conceivable.

The acceptance of world market conditions will be essential for future cooperation, Dr. Luft continued. This means the gradual transition to convertible currencies and the application of actual world market prices.

A commission consisting of representatives of all the member states set up at the recent CEMA session in Sofia is to make proposals for the renewal of the CEMA by May this year. These in turn are then to be discussed at an extraordinary council session in 1990. The vice premier presented the conception for GDR participation to the economics working group of the roundtable, with a request for active help.

Military Chief Meets FRG's Wellershoff

LD1701131790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1212 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—The first meeting between leading military officials of the GDR and the FRG in the Austrian capital has taken place in a relaxed atmosphere, honestly and objectively, according to the joint evaluation of Lieutenant General Manfred Graetz and Admiral Dieter Wellershoff. During an hour-long talk on the margin of the Vienna Seminar of Military Doctrines, the deputy GDR defense minister and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army [NVA] and the inspector general of the Federal Army informed one another in particular of reforms planned or already implemented in the armed forces.

Graetz and Wellershoff headed the delegations from their countries to the seminar, which for the first time brought together military officials from the 35 CSCE states.

The situation in the National People's Army was stable, and there was no doubt that the army would continue in future to fulfill its constitutional duty, the NVA chief of staff explained to journalists after the talk with the Federal Army inspector general. He and Wellershoff had sought and found a great deal of common ground, without assumption of concepts of the enemy, Graetz said. Wellershoff added that "nobody will succeed in stirring up animosity between us in the present circumstances." There was no "enemy-relationship."

Lt. Gen. Graetz and Adm. Wellershoff agreed in assessing the probability of an armed conflict as slight, but not as nil. Both sides were working within their alliances for disarmament measures. But they would not undertake joint initiatives, according to Wellershoff. In the present realities, he considered bilateral drives to be "meaningless." Negotiations were taking place in the Vienna fora. The much-quoted security partnership between the GDR and the FRG would also come about in this international framework, the admiral said. The National People's Army and the Federal Army were only at the start of their relations. Since the primacy of politics was important to both, they needed a "political starting signal" for more extensive measures. Until then, a series of "preparatory technical contacts" would be maintained. There were presently no plans, however, for an exchange of soldiers or officers.

Gen. Graetz emphasized that the Soviet troops on GDR territory had not been a subject of the meeting. Their presence was stipulated under the 1957 stationing agreement.

Graetz Addresses Seminar

LD1701233290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1550 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—The GDR will do everything together with its allies to rapidly advance the process of military confidence-building and disarmament and bring about "suprabloc cooperative security structures" as soon as possible. This was stated on behalf of the GDR Government by Lieutenant General Manfred Graetz, deputy defense minister and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army [NVA], today at a seminar on military doctrine in Vienna. Speaking to the CSCE forum, he said that the GDR's military doctrine is based on the assumption that "a war of any intensity and any scale confronts modern European industrialized states with the problem of survival." the GDR rejects force in interstate relations and raises no territorial claims of any kind. It will never initiate military actions against a state or an alliance. The GDR opposes the first use of means of mass destruction. Ideological images of the enemy and hatred-inducing upbringing are rejected. The NVA is an army of the entire people "without party political and ideological affiliation."

The NVA chief of staff outlined in detail the structure of the GDR Armed Forces and their unilateral reduction. The army currently has a force of 168,000 men. He pointed out that the changes in the country will bring about a further change in views in the military doctrine. Its present state reflects the consensus achieved by the government "on external protection with all social forces in our country." After the seminar, the national military doctrine is to be "immediately referred to the People's Chamber for consultation and decision-making." Gen. Graetz assessed the probability of dangerous military actions against the GDR as minimal. A potential military threat is posed by NATO's capacities and concepts, which can destroy the GDR's social and physical existence in conflict cases. NATO's military strategy, the emphasis on escalation and nuclear first use in a conflict and the large-scale maneuvers in border areas have a disquieting effect. The GDR representative demanded that military confrontation, the system of deterrence, and the arms race be overcome. He said the specific responsibility for peace for the two German states explains the GDR's readiness for far-reaching steps of arms limitation and the creation of confidence and security together with the FRG in the framework of the all-European process.

Assesses CSCE Seminar

LD2001165490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—In the shared view of the chiefs of general staff in Europe, the United States, and Canada, the first week of the Vienna CSCE seminar on military doctrines has fulfilled expectations. This was the assessment of Lieutenant General Manfred Graetz, GDR Deputy Defense Minister and Chief of the Main Staff of the National Peoples Army (NVA), in an interview with ADN in the Austrian capital on Saturday.

All the participants agreed on the "historic significance" of this meeting, which will be discussing questions of detail at the level of experts until 5 February, because it offered the first opportunity to compare military doctrines and exchange views on them. At the same time, the chiefs of staff of the CSCE had been brought together. The proposal from Army Gen. Mikhail Moiseyev, the head of the Soviet delegation, that such seminars should be held regularly and that there should be another meeting in a year found a broad positive response.

Graetz, however, noted a varied level of "readiness for mutual trust." Thus, the NATO states assume that it is self-evident "that their own doctrine would be accepted as defensive," including the strategies of flexible response, forward defense, and the first use of nuclear weapons, which would make the West "incapable of attack or intervention." At the same time, they assume that there was a threat of attack from the Warsaw Pact, above all from the Soviet Union. "They simply expect trust from us, but they do not approach us with similar trust," the NVA chief of staff complained,

There was great interest in the military doctrine of the GDR, Gen. Graetz said. He let there be no doubt that it is exclusively defensive and is in full agreement wth the joint doctrine of the Warsaw Pact.

Graetz reaffirmed his statement that, in spite of full readiness for understanding and trust, one cannot overlook that a number of facts—such as the offensive strategy of NATO and the large presence of troops on the territory of the FRG—must be seen as threats.

As one of the most valuable results of the meeting, the GDR soldier mentioned getting to know the other chiefs of staff personally. In bilateral meetings, his negotiating partners—U.S. Gen. Powell emphatically and FRG Admiral Wellershoff in a restrained way—showed no interest in an "early reunification," which would seriously endanger stability in Europe. Rather, they want to develop state relations with a sovereign GDR.

Gen. Graetz does not see the continued existence of the Warsaw Pact as in danger, since the national security of states is ensured in and by the alliance. The chiefs of staff at the meeting made it clear that they would continue to fulfill their alliance duties. But what is taking place was a change in the character of the Warsaw Pact from a military-political to a political-military organization, and in this connection there is a rethinking of structures under way.

Maleuda Proposal to FRG, Polish Parliaments

LD2101160990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1531 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Guenther Maleuda, president of the GDR People's Chamber, has conveyed to the president of the German Lower House, Professor Dr. Rita Suessmuth; the marshal of the Sejm, Prof. Dr. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz; and the marshal of the Senate of the Polish Republic Prof. Dr Andrzej Stelmachowski the proposal to meet in Warsaw or another Polish city. He referred to a recent interview given by the Lower House president for NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG in which she had called for a clear declaration of intent by the two German states about the recognition of the existing Polish western border.

At that meeting, a joint declaration of intent by the parliamentary presidents of the three states about the recognition of the existing Polish western border should be issued. This political declaration of intent would help to strengthen mutual trust and to consolidate European security.

The GDR had already recognized the Oder Neisse border as binding in international terms in the Zgorzelec agreement on 6 July 1950.

FRG's Momper, Democratic Awakening Meet

LD1901202790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1442 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] West Berlin—Walter Momper, the governing mayor of West Berlin, received representatives of the GDR Democratic Awakening [DA] for a talk today.

The meeting, at which the current situation in the GDR and possibilities for cooperation with West Berlin were discussed, was attended on the DA side by Deputy Chairman Erhard Neubert and Rainer Eppelmann.

Momper told the press afterward that the two sides agreed that anything that worsens the economic efficiency and supply situation in the GDR must be avoided. In particular, the continuing discussion on a general strike in the GDR is wrong and can only lead to destabilization and chaos.

Momper said that there is still no factual equality of opportunity for the opposition groups in the GDR, because they are inadequately suplied with offices and equipment. He is prepared, despite his primary commitment to the Socialist Party of Germany, to also help the DA in the GDR in as far as this is desired.

The DA representatives outlined their demand that no measures in the GDR that go beyond 6 May should be taken without their participation. Certain measures, for example the election of judges for life, should not be taken at all before the elections.

In response to journalists' questions whether the DA is "on the path of the Christian Social Union," following the departure of the group around Friedrich Schorlemmer, Neubert answered: "There is great pressure on us to move more to the right." Eppelmann answered in the negative and expressed his hope that Schorlemmer's departure will not set a precedent and that DA will retain its broad base.

Interflug, Lufthansa Plan New Berlin Airport

LD1901182390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1531 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Berlin International is to be the name of a new large-scale airport. The relevant preparations will be concluded by 1995 at which time the construction of the modern airport can begin. The president of GDR's airline, Interflug, Dr. Klaus Henkes, gave a briefing on this in Berlin today at a joint news conference with Heinz Ruhnau, chairman of the board of Deutsche Lufthansa AG (FRG). More precise details will be worked out by the middle of this year. Heinz Ruhnau added, southern Berlin is the preferred location. Berlin and the surrounding area in the GDR need the new airport because the city will develop into a service and communications metropolis similar to Los Angeles, London, or Frankfurt (Main). The existing Berlin airports are insufficient for this although their takeoff and landing capacities are being expanded. This year Tegel (West Berlin) has 6 million passengers a year. This year Schoenefeld will also reach this figure. According to estimates, Berlin will have between 20 and 30 million air passengers in 2005.

The new airport is coming about in close collaboration between the two German airlines. It is part of their mutually agreed comprehensive cooperation.

Interflug and Lufthansa agreed on basic principles for expanding cooperation. They will cooperate as two independent airlines to improve their services in the interests of the customer, as well as to improve the economc viability of their flights and their respective market position. Interflug and Lufthansa are working toward the removal of all artificial restrictions that impede air traffic between the two German states, including Berlin. On the basis of a "treaty-based community," joint projects will be developed in partnership. Through this extra market elements and areas of cooperation are to be tapped. Included in this, besides the new airport, are cooperation on routes for passenger and freight business. They are aiming for a joint charter firm. An "Interthansa Service" catering company consisting of Interflug, LSG Lufthansa Service and Mitropa, as well as a software company, are planned. Airplane maintenance, hotel construction, and training are other fields of cooperation.

According to Henkes and Ruhnau, both companies' plans for flights to Berlin do not conflict with the rights of the Allies.

The head of Interflug gave a briefing on immediate measures to reduce pollution caused by flights. For example, there will be no more practice flights over the Berlin suburb of Bohnsdorf.

Diplomatic Ties With Israel Discussed

LD2001144890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1241 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Damascus (ADN)—According to GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Dr. Heinz-Dieter Winter, the GDR's interest in diplomatic relations with Israel is part of a Mideast concept that envisions such relations with all states in the region.

Dr. Winter told ADN that how quickly there is an exchange of ambassadors also depends on Israel's readiness for talks.

The GDR is in favor of achieving a political settlement of the Middle East's problems by the quickest route. It is in favor of Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, the implementation of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, and the recognition of Israel's right to exist within secure borders.

Protesters Demand Interior Minister Resignation

LD2001185490 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—A protest was organized by the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) and the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) in Budapest on Saturday, with thousands of people demanding the resignation of Minister of the Interior Istvan Horvath and the dissolution of the supervisory committee in charge of radio and television.

Speakers at the demonstration, including executive Miklos Haraszti of the AFD and Viktor Orban of the FYD, stressed the peaceful intentions of the protesters, and repeatedly called for the resignation of Istvan Horvath. They also demanded the immediate disbanding of the state security service, and raised the question of the personal responsibility of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth in the bugging scandal.

The speakers, who received help for amplification from the Ministry of the Interior, called for a free press, mass media without party control and the immediate dissolution of the committee supervising radio and television.

Horvath To Remain at Interior Ministry

LD2101195790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Ernoe Kardos report on Council of Ministers session, from the Parliament Building in Budapest on 21 January]

[Text] Deputy Interior Minister Ferenc Pallagi is leaving, while minister Istvan Horvath is to continue as the Ministry's leading official. This was announced a short while ago by government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok when he began the news conference a good hour and a half after the scheduled time, for which he apologized to journalists.

The government session is still debating the details of the phone-tapping scandal. Incidentally, Ferenc Pallagi asked to be relieved of his post. As for Interior Minister Horvath, he announced that he wants to make a detailed report about the affair at the National Assembly session to begin next week.

This is what we were able to learn today: According to the government spokesman, the Interior Ministry began tapping phones after a secret Council of Ministers decision in 1973, and it carried them out up until recently, so that not even the government members knew about it, with the sole exception of the immediate leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. All this was illegal, even according to the Constitution of that time.

For this very reason the Council of Ministers, as of today, is banning the use of all kinds of secret service tools; it is abolishing the by-now infamous 3/3 division command [csapatfoenoekseg], whose materials will be placed in an archive, to be kept secret for the time longest possible.

The government has likewise ordered the immediate halt to the annihilation of secret materials. And until a new law on national defense is enacted, a government commissioner will direct national defense activity under the Council of Ministers' leadership. So, this, too, has been taken away from the Interior Ministry.

It was also said at the news conference that the activity of Jozsef Vegvari, who uncovered the offences, will continue to be qualified as treason. Because, as a matter of fact, according to (?Marsi-Toma), he should have lodged his report with the Prosecutor's Office, parliament, or the constitutional court.

On the other hand, Interior Minister Horvath was described by the government as pursuing reform politics.

One more item of news pertaining to personnel: Imre Pozsgay's resignation from the head of the committee supervising radio and television has been accepted. The government has relieved him of his function. His place will be taken over by a committee.

Deputy Interior Minister Offers Resignation

LD2001194290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Report on telephone interview with Hungarian Deputy Interior Minister Ferenc Pallagi by Gyorgy Ney on 20 January on the "168 Hours" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Ferenc Pallagi, deputy minister of the interior, telephoned us this morning, and this is when Gyorgy Ney interviewed him. I now call to your attention that the deputy minister announced something very important, and you will hear this toward the end of the conversation.

[Begin recording] [Ney] Tomorrow there will be a government session at which, as Miklos Nemeth announced yesteday, personnel and organizational changes will be implemented. Yet, we have heard that you, as well, took part in working out the report. It is your shop; you are the deputy minister who is charged with supervising this branch. What do you expect? Obviously, the personnel change will also affect your job.

[Pallagi] I took part in drafting, creating, the minister's report that will go before the Council of Ministers only inasmuch as, in accordance with my duty and responsibility, I made available the facts and data which the minister requested from me. [passage omitted providing background on state security service reporting procedures]

[Ney] Until 23 October, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] supervised and directed the Ministry of the Interior, within the context of the party state framework. This is a fact; no one disputes this. The premier himself has also said this, verbatim. After the congress at which the MSZMP separated off [as heard] did the Ministry of the Interior, or its 3/3 Section, receive any assignments from the Hungarian Socialist Party?

[Pallagi] I can say with complete responsibility that it was not assigned anything.

[Ney] So, does this mean that you are talking only about a self-propelled process within the apparatus?

[Pallagi] There is an element of self-propulsion here, but not for its own ends.

[Ney] In that case, what is the objective; who commissioned this process?

[Pallagi] The commissioning side: The service has among its tasks, in the interest of security requirements, to keep watch over domestic political events, programs.

[Ney] All right, I understand that. But, up to which political level must you hand these reports?

[Pallagi] The reports in question here have not ended up at any kind of political level. The reports in question have not even ended up in the hands of the minister.

[Ney] So, what has ended up there?

[Pallagi] The minister gets from us analyses of internal political value, of information-giving relevance. But, there occur no measures or further utilization in a given direction, or any such thing.

[Ney] You, as the deputy minister who supervises this branch, were familiar with these matters, and after 23 October you knew that illegalities were taking place here. Do you not think that you, as well, must go?

[Pallagi] Regarding the occurrence of illegalities, unconstitutional actions, I imagine conclusions will have to be drawn by the prosecution's investigation that is now going on and by the possible parliamentary investigation which is expected to take place. One thing I know for sure: In the situation that has emerged, my political responsibility is unquestionably palpable and tangible, and, in connection with this, since trust in me in this regard has become uncertain, and since this service cannot be led in such a way in this situation, I, in order to draw the personnel consequence, have taken the step....

[Ney, interrupting] What does this mean, exactly?

[Pallagi] That in my letter, submitted 10 January to the premier, I asked that the Council of Ministers, within the framework of its decisionmaking powers, relieve me of my position.

[Ney] So, do you feel this way because you feel yourself to be responsible politically?

[Pallagi] I did not experience actions suggesting conduct which might have violated the law. [passage omitted on Pallagi's wish that everyone refrain from actions stemming from personal, subjective emotions, and that he has tried to perform his job with honor] [end recording]

MSZP Statement on Phone-Tapping 'Scandal'

LD2001213290 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP/MSZP] repeatedly dissociates itself from the practice of the party-state era, and condemn the use of state security methods which violate citizens' rights, says the statement issued by the Hungarian Socialist Party Presidium on the bugging scandal.

The HSP rejects rumours that it has had any direct relations with the State Security Service and would have used its services in its policy. The HSP disapproves of the failure to completely cease applying procedures opposed to the spirit of the amended Constitution even after the new republic was proclaimed.

The HSP supports an expedient and comprehensive investigation into the matter, taking into consideration the documents drawn up for the government, which the Socialist Party also received occasionally in its capacity as a ruling party.

At the same time, the HSP calls on parliament and the government also to examine if the supervisions were not connected with activities threatening national security, which run contrary to the provisions of the new Constitution and also pose a peril to peaceful transition, the statement runs.

As the HSP is of the opinion that the amount of information available for ascertaining personal responsibility is insufficient, The party Presidium does not agree with the demand that the minister of the interior should resign now.

Concerning the fact that, at variance with the position of HSP's national Presidium the party's Budapest organization called for the replacement of the minister of the interior at its Saturday board meeting, a member of the national presidium said that in a democratic party as the HSP such differences in views between the local and central bodies are considered natural.

Nemeth Interviewed on 'Bugging Scandal'

LD2001005390 Budapest MTI in English 2157 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth gave an interview to "MAGYAR HIRLAP" on the bugging scandal. The editorial office of the paper handed over the interview to MTI yet before its publication.

Q: Do you feel any responsibility for the bugging scandal?

A: I feel myself responsible as far as the Ministry of the Interior should have been reorganized. Like the Ministry of Defence, after the Republic of Hungary had been proclaimed on October 23, 1989.

Q: Why didn't you do so?

A: It was a big task to preserve the economy's ability to function and elaborate the related economic policy so I had to choose between the two ministries. Keeping national security in view, I chose the Ministry of Defence.

Concerning the Internal Security Service, Mr Nemeth says, "I didn't feel that the operation of the Internal Security Service would pose an acute problem. I was wrong. Although the operation of the service did not endanger peaceful transition directly and the service was looking for the ways of adjustment to the new constitutional order, the old attitudes survived but became less perceptible since they were not manifest in administrative measures or forceful actions."

Q: Have you read the reports of the Internal Security Service?

A: I have never seen such reports that I received from Janos Kis of AFD [Alliance of Free Democrats] and Gabor Fodor of Fidesz. I inquired about the documents and learned that they were compiled by the Internal Security Service and served as a basis of daily reports available for some leaders of the Ministry of the Interior. Of course, I have received reports from the minister of the interior and his deputies. These confidential reports analysed home policy issues and were similar to the ones I receive from other fields of government (foreign affairs, economic information).

Q: Didn't you think that the information had been collected through illegal means?

A: No, I didn't. The analyses I read did not lead me to a conclusion like that. As a matter of fact, after October 23, 1989 the government prohibited the collection of information about the parties and made its decision public.

Miklos Nemeth: I remember three occasions in 1989 when I asked the minister of the interior to make special internal security efforts.

Firstly, before the Imre Nagy funeral on June 16, in the particularly tense atmosphere preceding the event, it couldn't be excluded that the funeral would be disturbed by serious provocations or forceful actions. I also received a threat that I would be killed, together with Bela Kiraly, if I attend the funeral. I asked the ministry to collect comprehensive information required for fulfilling security- and defence-oriented tasks so that the funeral should take place in peace. At that time, surveillance could be extended to some parties.

Secondly, it was before October 23, 1989 that I asked the ministry to collect information for similar purposes.

Thirdly, in November, when I was informed about the intention of, and preparations for, an organized action aimed at endangering peaceful transition. In other words, the parties or some of their members might become the target of surveillance by the Internal Security Service if they endanger constitutional order or peaceful transition.

Q: Are you sure that the Internal Security Service collected information only in such cases?

A: According to the documents presented by AFD and Fidesz, it happened in other cases as well.

Q: Didn't you know about it?

A: No, I didn't know that this was a regular activity... I was shocked when I learnt from the documents that some people became familiar with the content of the letters addressed to me or the members of my government earlier than the addresses themselves...

Concerning the most urgent tasks related to the bugging scandal, Mr Nemeth said:

The prosecutor should carry out the investigation...the service should be placed under parliamentary control...and a National Security Office should be set up. I will initiate that those who can be blamed for the actions which were eventually unlawful or incompatible with the policy of the government should be called to strict account. At the same time, I cannot allow that national interests be hurt by irresponsible actions motivated by personal retaliation or the influence of foreign secret service, Miklos Nemeth said in "MAGYAR HIRLAP".

Nemeth Ill; Council Session Postponed

LD1901211590 Budapest MTI in English 1853 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest January 19 (MTI)—The forthcoming session of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, scheduled for Saturday, has been postponed to Sunday because of the illness of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

* Csurka Radio Statement on Domestic Politics

90EC0226A Budapest Radio Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Statement by Istvan Csurka, writer and Presidium member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, on the "Sunday News" (Vasarnapi Hirek) program]

[Text] During the next few minutes our writer, Istvan Csurka, has the microphone.

[Csurka] The silent revolution of our days has reached a dangerous turning point. The state party has fallen apart, there is no governing power, and in essence, the government is recognized only abroad. Parliament is a formality, the organization of councils is paralyzed and is looking for a parachute in the second hand market. Enterprises and institutions have made themselves independent, at least to the point where their communist or former communist leaders are able to sell the common property to line their own pockets.

While in Romania the Communist Party has been outlawed, in Hungary the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] are going from door to door, mainly in the countryside, and are beginning to agitate for the return of indifferent veterans. A respectable part of the former apparatus is waiting for an extraordinary event to happen, just as the Germans were waiting for a magic weapon toward the end of the war. What could that magic weapon be? Unfortunately, they may already be holding it in their hands. This magic weapon is anarchy, the state we are about to drift into. Or the state in which we already are. More than once during the past two years the increasingly losing Stalinists made reference to this anarchy. They said that they would then emerge, and would show their power to the world. They reinforced the police. New black jacks, riot helmets, shields, and a growing personnel.

And then a few things happened on the global stage. With spotlights beamed at Hungary a police solution became impossible, and the hard line Bolsheviks decided to play the role of reformers. Karoly Grosz also took a trip; he thought he would visit the United States and tell not only his aunt and the Hungarian emigre population, but the entire American leadership that he is an attentive Hungarian reformer; let them place the dough in his hands. This transaction achieved moderate success. In Chicago, for instance, the vice president received him at Midway Airport, and showed little inclination to acknowledge all this with checks. Internal security reports probably said something different about the charming guest. What internal security reports? Well, perhaps in part even reports from Hungarians; those Hungarians which at that time already had a dual commitment. Dual, or triple commitment.

But let's drop this subject. Not even for the sake of a joke should we involve ourselves in something we are not familiar with. Let us return to the issue of anarchy. At what point can we talk about anarchy? When coercive rules do not apply to the individual or to individual institutions, or when so many people have been able to exempt themselves from under such rules that order has disintegrated. Many confuse democracy with anarchy. There are coercive rules in a democracy, these rules, however, are imposed upon the community as a whole as a matter agreed to by the majority, and obedience to laws is motivated primarily by incentives provided from higher up.

We Hungarians are in the process of falling down because the old dictatorial rule has ceased, and the democratic system of order has not yet evolved. And that order will not evolve soon, considering the way things are taking place in the City State of Budapest. Most certainly, anarchy has arrived at our gates, if it has not crept inside our walls already, when, for example, a television editor in chief is capable of perpetrating such a great circus about his own petty job affair, when the leaders and leading reporters in program editorial offices are capable of forgetting in a matter of moments what they have done during the past decades for the already disintegrated Kadar-Aczel system as foreign reporters and as Karoly Grosz' companions to America—the fact that in those days they did not utter a single word to serve the cause of democracy, that they called those who prepared a program about Transylvania extremist Hungarian zealots, that they told lies and more lies, and certainly this lineup includes half the Hungarian press.

While society is moaning and suffering, and does not know what food it will put on the table the next day, the financial lobby which exploits people is establishing feed price levels so that animal breeders are setting fire to their pigpens and stables. And tomorrow we will not only be unable to buy meat, we will not be able to steal any meat, because there will not be any. Meanwhile the Hungarian telecommunications establishment is busy dealing with the news editor's miseries, with the filth he has thrown at his colleagues, whose totally dilettant Romanian broadcasts were saved from a series of errors based on a lack of factual knowledge, only by pulling to their side the outstanding Attila Vari, the man they would not have put on the screen even for God's sake, just so that he can say a few words about his native country. The former editor in chief spent a summer vacation in Abu Dhabi to take a rest after all of his efforts. He has the right to do so, and he also has the money to do so. He is obviously concerned that when he no longer serves as editor in chief, all he will have left is the right to take a vacation in Abu Dhabi.

The country is on the brink of collapse, a godless ransom is to be paid by most families, and yet, wouldn't you know, some people, including some of the most radical fighters for democracy, are not embarrassed to tell this to the public. Well, we have had enough. We have had enough of all these fairy tales and lies. They are talking about Abu Dhabi, summer vacations, dough, and the possibility of governing. At last, Hungarian society must awaken to the fact that the unbridled enforcement of interests is today's greatest barrier on the path toward that much-yearned-for democracy. As long as it is possible to discredit Hungarians who have a populist-nationalist backbone with an avalanche of slanderous statements, as long as the basic principle of discrimination belongs to a clique or to a sect, as long as anything that has to do with the people is suspect from the outset, as long as a tiny minority is capable of making society accept that only its truth is the truth, and that everything that takes place outside of its sphere should be rejected, and as long as the political line labelled as radical liberal today when presented to Hungarians is nurtured from the same Marxist, Lukacs-ist, left-wing roots as it was during the Kadar-Aczel era, there is indeed no hope that the great, populist masses of Hungarians will feel good in their own country.

Awaken Hungarians! They are misleading us once again. The era of Bela Kun and his associates is gone, even if the new Lenin boys are cursing Lenin. What can we look forward to? Terror, soldiers, blood, and final collapse. Everything is cracking and crashing around us. A new fight may begin in Romania at any moment, the neighboring nations are filled with great emotions. What served us as a shameful disadvantage before—the fact that transition was dragging and took place on the basis of peaceful agreements—may perhaps now be turned to our advantage. We must comply with the agreements we made, and we must enforce those agreements so that everyone complies. The Hungarian nation that lost so much blood is confused in spirit and has been humiliated so many times; it must not permit itself to resort to violent solutions. Such solutions usually take place in the wake of anarchy. What we need is sober, middle-of-the-road firmness. And the ones who are able to do something for this homeland only from leading positions, and nothing as subordinates, are essentially communists and Bolsheviks, the ones we are fortunate enough to have met already. Better said: We will be fortunate, when our paths permanently part at last.

Reorganization of Army Command Detailed

LD1901142490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Today the military leadership's views on the Army's transformation were outlined at a press conference at the Ministry of Defense. Peter Trebits reports:

[Trebits] [Passage omitted] By the end of March 1990, the Hungarian Army Command will be set up in its final form. The command will deal with exclusively professional and military matters, with a new Defense Ministry. In the course of the reorganization, the Defense Ministry's staff has decreased by about 600. The average age of the ministry's employees is currently 46 years. Major General Csaba Bicskei, department head at the ministry, described this as a generational change.

The hall where the news conference is held at the Defense Ministry was filled, however, for another reason. Interest is attracted, following the promise by the ministry that the writing of the paper REFORM, which had been dubbed as a sensation, would be dealt with at the press conference.

Those who have the paper could read that a woman resident of Szentendre found secret military documents in a local garbage can. As the newspaper headline reports, the affair which amounts to treason is being investigated by a military committee. One of the files classified as secret refers to the activity of the Chief of Staff [Toerza] of the Warsaw Pact within the allied armies. There are also documents about the domestic air defense and internal cadre affairs.

The article written by Peter Toeke, editor-in-chief of REFORM, also outlines the meeting in the course of which, even before their publication, Mr Toeke presented the relatively recent—as it has become clear—documents to Ferenc Karpati. As he writes, the minister reacted to this instinctively with a spicy, really Hungarian, oath.

Since then it has become clear that the files were stolen deliberately. There is a suspect but so far there has been no confession.

General Outlines Military Doctrine

LD1901223290 Budapest MTI in English 2059 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna, January 19 (MTI)—In the long term, Hungary advocates a bloc-free Europe but, for the time being, it plans to fulfil its tasks of national defence within the Warsaw Treaty since the two historically established military blocs are still stabilizing factors on the continent, Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief-of-staff of the Hungarian People's Army, stressed at the CSCE seminary on military doctrines in Vienna on Friday [19 January]

Mr Borsits outlined the main principles of Hungary's military doctrine, and programme aimed at international peace, security and cooperation. Mr Borsits said Hungary was urging genuine reforms within the Warsaw Treaty, first of all the democratization and modernization of its internal relations and the mechanism of decision-making.

The Hungarian chief-of-staff laid emphasis on Hungary's efforts to contribute to confidence- and security-building in Europe, and referred to the Hungarian proposal for establishing 50-km wide zones of security along its borders with Austria and Yugoslavia.

'Radical' Withdrawal of Soviet Troops Urged

AU2201112690 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 19 Jan 90 p 1

[Burkhard Bischof report: "Moscow Offers Radical Troop Reductions: Reduction of Troops Deployed to One Fourth?"]

[Excerpts] Vienna—The conference of all European chiefs of staff in Vienna has gotten the negotiations on force reductions in Europe moving in a dramatic way. Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, suggested new upper ceilings for the troops that a country is allowed to deploy on foreign territory; these upper ceilings must be far below the 275,000 men that are currently being discussed in Vienna. According to sources from among the delegates, the Soviet Union even suggested to the United States reducing the troops deployed in the allied European states to 150,000 men each. Thus the Soviet troops deployed in East Europe would be reduced to one fourth of their current number. State Secretary Somogyi also announced that expert talks would be held soon on the total withdrawal, by 1990 at the latest, of the Soviet soldiers deployed in Hungary. [passage omitted]

The fact that the negotiations in Vienna's Hofburg on the troops deployed are progressing was also confirmed by the move of Hungarian State Secretary Somogyi, who demanded that the ceilings of deployment troops "should be much lower than 250,000 men." This was the first time at the negotiations on conventional stability in Europe that an alliance member had submitted such a proposal as an individual state. However, Somogyi hinted that Budapest had informed its allies about this initiative in advance.

He said that in view of the positive developments in Europe, Hungary had arrived at the conclusion that its forces were able to defend the country themselves. Therefore, the Hungarian Government planned to achieve, in bilateral negotiations with Moscow, the total withdrawal of the 50,000 to 60,000 Soviet soldiers that are deployed in the country before the end of this year but not later than in 1991, said Somogyi. He added that talks between experts from the two countries would begin soon and should consider a "technically necessary minimum period of time" for the withdrawal and the "international implications" of such a step.

MTI on Departure of Soviet Air Force Unit

LD1901174790 Budapest MTI in English 1527 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—As the first step of Soviet troop reductions from Hungary this year, the military airborne unit in Debrecen is to be withdrawn: The aerodrome there will no longer be used for any kind of military purpose by the end of the year, Colonel-General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary, confirmed at a meeting with Debrecen council leaders.

Ferenc Debreczeni, acting chairman of the local council, told journalists on Friday that the Soviet military commander had expressed his concern about people's tension over the airport at Debrecen. The colonel-general said he hoped the Soviet units and the local population would part in friendship, and the acting chairman of Debrecen city council seconded this.

Mr Debreczeni told the news conference that the military airport would be converted to suit civilian purposes. As had been proposed by the local population.

Mitterrand Winds Up Visit to Hungary

Comments on Soviet Troubles

LD1901183990 Paris Domestic Service in French 1700 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Statement by French President Francois Mitterrand to Ralph Pinto in Budapest on 19 January—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today is the last day of President Francois Mitterrand's visit to Hungary. In Budapest, the head of state paid homage to the memory of Imre Nagy. He laid a wreath at the tomb of the martyred leader executed in 1956. At the end of his visit Francois Mitterrand held a news conference during which, naturally, he referred to the clashes in the Caucasus. The president of the republic acknowledges that Mikhail Gorbachev's position is very delicate, as he told Ralph Pinto.

[Begin Mitterrand recording] I think it is very difficult for him. In other words, it is another reason for us to make his task easier, as far as we are able in our position, to witness a propitious development in the solution of the problems facing him. It is true that there are many of them, but the nationalities problem seems to me to be weightng on him even more than the economic problems. Both are serious. The role of the Soviet Union as a federation of these nationalities is to ensure that there is peace among the conflicting ethnic groups and to preserve the prospects for the future—in other words by preserving peace by peaceful means. This is not my business—I wish simply for matters to progress in this way and for the ethnic groups which are threatened to be protected by the power of the state. [end recording]

Holds News Conference With Szuros

LD1901211790 Budapest MTI in English 1500 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—Concluding his two-day official visit to Hungary, Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, and his host Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, held an international press conference on January 19, Friday.

Mr Szuros said the visit opened a new phase in Hungarian-French relations and was an important step towards a united Europe. He said the Republic of Hungary actively supported President Mitterrand's proposal of a European confederation and Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal for convening a Helsinki-II conference.

Mr Mitterrand spoke in terms of appreciation about his talks in Hungary and said the two countries gave an identical assessment to the European political processes. In reply to questions, the French president outlined his proposal of a European confederation, which would be a looser organization than the 12-member European communities, and include democratic states. The confederation, he said, could only be realized after 1993. In preparation, regional agreements should be concluded and the situation of minorities settled in the particular states. The European confederation will solve the issue of nationalities, Mr Mitterrand said.

Referring to his talks with the opposition parties, Mr Mitterrand said he had met mature politicians, qualified for governing Hungary peacefully after the elections.

Views European Confederation

LD1901112390 Paris Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Europe, Europe, Europe. President Mitterrand developed this theme throughout the first day of his official trip to Hungary. What should the contours of the new Europe be, what should Hungary's place be? This was an opportunity for the head of state to explain his plan for a European confederation between this part of Europe, which exists now with 12 members, and that which is in gestation to the continent's east. This confederation, in Mitterrand's opinion, could serve as a safety barrier in a particularly dangerous time in European history.

[Begin Mitterrand recording] The nationalities' awakening, the minorities' aspirations, the military alliances' future, all these issues must be dealt with and settled with a global perspective. Hence the proposal that I put forward for a European confederation, which would bring together all the states of our continent, those which have gone through the stages of democracy and pluralism, within a joint and permanent organization for exchange, peace, and security. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Yesterday evening, following the first day of the French president's visit to Budapest, Pierre Beregovoy announced the release of Fr2 billion in credits over 3 years for Hungary.

Departs After 2-Day Visit

LD1901211890 Budapest MTI in English 1809 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 13 (MTI)—Francois Mitterand, president of the French Republic who had paid a two-day official visit to Hungary at the invitation of Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, was seen off on Budapest's Kossuth Square with military honours on Friday. The French president and his entourge left Budapest late in the afternoon.

France Announces $350-Million Loan to Hungary

AU1801230490 Paris AFP in English 2237 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Budapest, Jan 18 (AFP)—The French Government is to open a credit line to Hungary totalling two billion francs (350 million dollars) over three years to finance a number of projects, French Economy Minister Pierre Beregovoy announced here Thursday. The announcement came on the first day of a two-day official visit to Hungary by French President Francois Mitterrand.

Mr. Mitterrand's economic aide, Elisabeth Guigou, said that the credit line was in addition to 300 million francs (52 million dollars) already made available to newly-democratized Budapest in 1989. Some 800 million francs of the total two billion would be released this year. She added that France would also set up a fund to encourage small and medium-sized Hungarian businesses totalling 50 million francs (8.7 million dollars). Mrs. Guigou also revealed that France and Hungary had signed a protocol of intent Thursday providing for French firm Matra to extend the Budapest underground metro system. The contract is worth a total one billion francs (175 million dollars), although Matra's exact participation in the project was not known.

Mr. Mitterrand held talks with his Hungarian counterpart Matyas Szuros, but a scheduled meeting with Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth was cancelled, as the Hungarian official was ailing.

Mr. Mitterrand was accompanied by his wife Danielle, seven government members, including Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and Mr. Beregovoy, and a large business delegation. His visit follows one here earlier this week by Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, who announced that Tokyo would grant 1.85 billion dollars in aid to Poland and Hungary over the next three years. [passage omitted]

Mr. Mitterrand was expected to sign several French-Hungarian accords, notably in the telecommunications field and the modernization of the Budapest subway. The French national electricity company, EDF, is also negotiating a contract on joint construction of a nuclear power plant in Hungary.

Foreign Minister Meets France's Dumas

LD1901215890 Budapest MTI in English 1555 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—Foreign Minister Gyula Horn held talks on Friday [19 January] with Roland Dumas, minister of state for foreign affairs, on the developments in Central and Eastern Europe and bilateral relations.

Gyula Horn called it to be particularly important that the West extends active support for economic restructuring in Hungary, and he appreciated the role of the Common Market, including the French efforts.

Roland Dumas informed his partner about the preparations to set up the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

As far as the bilateral links were concerned, Gyula Horn stressed the need for major progress in cultural, educational and mass media cooperation, vocational training and the relaxation of visa practices. The French foreign minister pledged his government would pay special attention to these issues. He said he agreed with the proposal for experts of the two foreign ministries to start discussing the relevant details as soon as possible.

Roland Dumas invited Gyula Horn for a visit to France in the near future. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Foreign Minister Horn on Official Visit to Rome

Signs Visa Agreement

LD1701222790 Budapest MTI in English 2042 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Rome, January 17 (MTI)—Hungary and Italy agreed to abolish the visa obligation for trips shorter than 30 days. This was the most important agreement signed by foreign ministers Gyula Horn of Hungary and Gianni de Michelis of Italy in Rome on Wednesday. The talks were marked by an excellent atmosphere, and the foreign ministers signed five joint statements, protocols and aide memoires.

The visa agreement, to take effect on March 19, also simplified the issuance of visas and residence permits for those who spend more than 30 days abroad, for instance diplomats, businessmen, technical experts, university lecturers and journalists. The agreement is a genuine breakthrough: the first one between a NATO and a WTO [Warsaw Treaty Organization] member state on the abolition of visas.

In 1989, about 160,000 Hungarians, mainly tourists, visited Italy, and 230,000 Italians came to Hungary. In view of the former difficulties faced by those who wanted to travel to the West, the significance of the agreement could hardly be exaggerated and is mainly of political nature, the foreign ministers said.

The protocol on political talks envisages regular consultations between government organs and annual foreign ministerial talks. The sides agreed to elaborate, without violating alliance interests, joint proposals for the soonest possible establishment of a united Europe, and back them within their alliance systems.

The sides signed a declaration of intent on updating and expanding the 1974 inter-governmental agreement on economic cooperation, and the 1987 agreement on investment protection. They hold it expedient to adapt these agreements to the changing econmic conditions, and extend them to the designated areas of quatrilateral cooperation between Austria, Hungary, Italy and Yugoslavia.

Transport, telecommunications, environmental protection, cooperation between small and medium-size plants, training of experts, and cultural cooperation. The Italian side ,stressed that quadrilateral cooperation was first of all promoted by the Hungarian and Italian intitiatives.

The sides signed an aide-memoire on the training of experts. Some companies in North Italy would employ Hungarian skilled workers in the construction industry and metallurgy.

The sides agreed to establish an Italian business and service centre in Budapest.

Meets President Cossiga, Pope

LD1801204190 Budapest MTI in English 1840 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Rome, January 18 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, Hungarian foreign minister who is paying an official visit to Rome, met Francesco Cossiga, Italian president, in Quirinale Palace on Thursday. The meeting was attended by Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis.

Later on, Pope John Paul II gave a private audience to the Hungarian foreign minister. 'We discussed the reestablishment of diplomatic relations which, in our judgment, could come within a few weeks,' Mr Horn told the press.

Mr Horn said the pope expressed his sympathy towards the Hungarian people, highly appreciated the current changes in Eastern Europe, and spoke about the churches' role in this process. The sides discussed the renewal of state-church relations on democratic foundations.

Mr Horn said he expected the pope to make his first visit to Hungary in the autumn of 1991. 'Hungary is preparing for the visit which will be a great event not only for the Catholic faithful in Hungary but also for the whole Hungarian people and, I would add, for the Hungarians living beyond our borders,' Mr Horn said.

News Conference With De Michelis

LD1801215190 Budapest MTI in English 2005 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Rome, January 18 (MTI)—After concluding their talks, Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn of Hungary and Gianni de Michelis of Italy held a press conference in Rome on Thursday.

Mr Horn evaluated his talks in Rome as particularly constructive. 'In the recent period, I have experienced nowhere such a great deal of readiness for concrete cooperation as in the Italian capital. We share the commitment to establishing a united Europe,' Mr Horn said. The Italian foreign minister added, 'Since the war, our bilateral relations have never been so good as today'.

The development of relations cannot be separated from Hungary's democratic transformation. Italy will make every effort to promote this process in the political, economic, humanitarian and cultural fields, the Italian foreign minister said.

Mr Horn said, 'I experienced that the Italian Government sought to pursue a constructive and comprehensive policy towards Eastern Europe so that Europe should get rid of confrontation and embark on the road of unification. The Hungarian Government is a genuine partner in this effort.'

Mr Horn said the agreement on the abolition of visas was at least as important a development as the dismantling of the iron curtain by Hungary. De Michelis added that this step of 'ethical and political significance' removed another wall and barrier.

Discussing international affairs, the sides focused attention to disarmament in Europe. Mr Horn stressed that the Soviet Union would no longer interfere with the Hungarian policy. The Hungarian Government plans further cuts in its military spendings but does not want to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty unilaterally. The sides agreed that disarmament in Europe can only be discussed in the Vienna conference of the 23 NATO and Warsaw Treaty member countries.

Katyn Committee Appeals to Soviet Public

LD2001182490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1645 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] The historical committee for the investigation of the Katyn crime has issued an appeal to the Soviet public. The appeal says that 50 years will pass this year since the Katyn crime was committed. Up until now the Soviet Government has not admitted that the Soviet state bears responsibility for that crime. The people in Poland want good and friendly relations with their eastern neighbors and for this to be possible the Soviet state and its citizens must settle accounts with the past, the appeal says.

President Jaruzelski Meets Katyn Investigators

LD1901222890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has received the Polish members of the joint commission of Polish and Soviet party historians for studying relations between the two countries. The president thanked the historians for their efforts aimed at uncovering historical truth. Let us remind you that the Polish members of the commission made a unanimous public announcement that the crime in Katyn was committed by the People's Commissariat of People's Affairs. This announcement was not confirmed by the commission's members from the Soviet side.

Szczecin, Soviet Officials Discuss Ecology

LD1701174490 Warsaw PAP in English 1552 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Szczecin, Jan. 17—Members of the voivodship people's council here have many times raised a question concerning the areas and objects being managed by the Soviet Army and situated in the Szczecin Voivodship.

These areas and objects have been up to now out of control by environmental protection services of the voivodship authorities and bodies of local administration.

Taking account of the postulates by the council's members, the voivode here Stanislaw Malec met with representatives of the command of the Soviet Army's Northern Group of troops. The meeting was attended by plenipotentiaries of the Polish and Soviet Governments for the Soviet Army's stationing in Poland as well as environmental protection experts.

It was jointly agreed that a concept of an appropriate solving of the protection of water, air and soil in these areas would be worked out.

A principle will be binding that in cases of glaring breaches of the regulations contained in the Law on Environmental Protection and Law on Waters the Polish side will apply ad hoc sanctions against the Soviet units provided for by these laws.

The Soviet side will eliminate inconveniences for the population caused by the flights of military aircraft.

Eritrean-Held Ship's Crew Released

LD2201093990 Warsaw PAP in English 0914 GMT 22 Jan 90

[By PAP correspondent Roman Strzemiecki]

[Text] Cairo, Jan 22—The crew of the Polish vessel Boleslaw Krzywousty, abducted by Eritrean guerillas, were freed and reached Port Sudan today.

A special LOT plane leaves Cairo this morning with Polish Foreign Ministry and LOT officials aboard to meet the crew in Port Sudan and bring them back to Poland.

The plane is also carrying a group of Polish journalists who have been waiting in Cairo since January 18.

Skubiszewski on Polish-Czechoslovak Federation

AU1701101290 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Jan 90 p 1

[Reply by Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski to a question from a ZYCIE WARSZAWY reporter identified as "mk"; date and place not given: "Question of the Day"]

[Text] MK: The possibility of close ties between our country and Czechoslovakia has been a topic of discussion in Poland over the last few days. Is it realistic to envisage the establishment of a Polish-Czechoslovak confederation?

Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski: How realistic a proposal this is depends on the determination, the willingness to reach agreement, and the concerted action of both states. If one of the states wants a confederation, whereas the other state is more interested in cooperation with other neighbors, the plan will not be realistic. An attempt to lay the foundations of a future Polish-Czechoslovak confederation was made during World War II. Wladyslaw Sikorski's government thought of the confederation as part of the European order that would come into existence following the elimination of Hitler's Germany. The question is becoming pertinent once again. A confederation comprising our two states would be part of a general European confederation, the construction of which is even more difficult than the initiation of a bilateral union. A bilateral arrangement should initially concentrate on establishing a customs union, which should be followed by the establishment of an economic union.

I have declared myself to be in favor of close ties with Czechoslovakia even before this debate began, and consider such a development to be natural. We will see whether the changes in Czechoslovakia will be favorable to my position. Political traditions are sometimes stronger than institutional and personnel changes. In any case, the current state of relations with Czechoslovakia is unsatisfactory. They have to be mended. That will create conditions for genuine contemplation of a possible confederation.

CSSR's Dienstbier Holds News Conference

AU1601115690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jan 90 p 7

[Piotr Wyrwicz report on news conference given by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, in Warsaw on 11 January 1990]

[Text] During his press conference, Jiri Dienstbier, the Czechoslovak foreign minister, stated that he had met with Krzysztof Skubiszewski, his Polish counterpart, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and President Wojciech Jaruzelski. A plan for the most pressing tasks for the immediate future had been agreed. It had been decided to call special expert teams who would continue to elaborate the points contained in the joint agreements. In reply to one of the questions, the minister stressed that Czechoslovakia's third largest trading partner was Poland, coming after the Soviet Union and the GDR in Eastern Europe. It is a natural thing, Dienstbier continued, that the best relations have tended to be with one's nearest neighbors. However, Polish-Czechoslovak mutual relations need to be accelerated and become more intensive.

In a week's time, continued the minister, there will be a meeting of finance and economic experts in Prague. They will discuss the possibilities of further intensifying our bilateral relations. Krzysztof Skubiszewski's suggestion of a possible customs union was discussed, but no firm decisions were made. During the news conference there were questions on Stonava [Czech coking plant undergoing construction near the Polish border]; the problem of pollution in the Odra River; and cross-border movement of workers. Jiri Dienstbier reminded the journalists that all construction at Stonava had been halted, and the "past reforms" were completely suspended. He added that it was necessary to look at these matters afresh and without undue haste. Cultural exchanges between our two countries would be an important aspect of our future cooperation. Izabella Cywinska, Polish minister of culture, is to visit Czechoslovakia very shortly. In the sphere of culture we already have splendid traditions. The festival of Czech culture, held in Wroclaw recently, was the largest event of its kind for 10 years and is proof of this. Jiri Dienstbier took the opportunity to express his warm thanks to the Polish organizers of this event.

The next question touched on the Polish experiences on the road of democracy and the opportunity that this had presented for Czechoslovakia to benefit from these. The minister recalled that all that had occurred in Eastern Europe was the result of a process that had been maturing for the last 40 years. All the nations of the Eastern bloc had contributed to the present situation, namely, Berlin in 1953; Budapest in 1956, and Poland in 1980 and 1989 were all attempts to embark on the road to democracy.

After informing the journalists of the planned visit of Tadeusz Mazowiecki to Prague, and the planned visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to Poland, Jiri Dienstbier stated: "The future looks promising. I do not know of other circumstances where during the course of a month and from the formation of a new government, there has been such frequent bilateral contact between the representatives of our respective governments."

Comments on Bulgarian 'Roundtable' Cited

AU2201112890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Jan 90 p 7

[Report by Ryszard Bilski: "Bulgarian 'Roundtable'—We Want Democracy and not Democratization"]

[Text] On Tuesday 16 January 1990, the "roundtable" talks in Sofia began. The representatives of 11 independent organizations and parties under the umbrella of the Union of Democratic Forces make up the independent component of the "roundtable." What do people expect to emerge from these talks? The following is what some of the participators told RZECZPOSPOLITA's Sofia correspondent.

Chavdar Kyuranov (Glasnost and Democracy): "We want democracy and not democratization. One cannot divide the rights of citizens piecemeal."

Konstantin Trenchev (Podkrepa): "A citizen state can only be built in a multiparty system and by guaranteeing equal rights for all kinds of ownership."

Lora Nikolova (Ecoglasnost): "Access to radio, television, and the press is crucial for us. Without this one cannot think seriously about electoral success."

After the meeting on Tuesday the representatives of the democratic forces did not hide their disaffection and disappointment with the outcome of the talks. Above all, they did not obtain a definite response from the authorities to their request for office accommodation, and they did not get permission to publish their own independent newspaper. There was talk of a print run of 50,000 copies.

The next meeting of the "roundtable" is scheduled for 18 January, but from what I have heard, the organizations that form the Union of Democratic Forces may refuse to participate in the talks if the above conditions are not met.

POLITYKA Article Examines German Question

PM1201160690 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Dec 89 p 13

[Article by Ryszard Wojna: "Cold War Should Be Ended With Peace"]

[Text] As I am sitting down to write an article on the rapid evolution of the German problem, I do not yet have access to information which could be crucial to this issue. I do not know what the two "great men" said to each other during their meeting in the roadstead of Malta's harbor. We should not be surprised if we do not get to know such information for a while yet, and that we will have to resign ourselves to drawing conclusions on the basis of the events taking place on the Washington-Bonn and Moscow-Berlin axes over the coming months. But I will risk the thesis that the current emergence of the possibility of German unification can significantly contribute to a broadening of the U.S.-Soviet unity of interests in Europe—in contrast to the situation prevailing during the era of the cold war, which in its initial stage was waged predominantly over the very question of German unity. The only thing is that perhaps this time neither the White House nor the Kremlin will be inclined to reveal the extent of this possible unity of interests, considering their German allies.

I am writing this text on 1 December. I have put a precise date on it because we do not know what further announcements or information—which may alter our present view of the events happening now—could reach us in the near future from both German capitals. The wheels of history are turning at a breakneck speed these days.

The fact that recent developments have been taking place at such incredible speed means that the need for changes has existed for a long time. The new solutions, which have ripened to maturity behind a facade of set formulas of past decades, are now revealing to us an entirely new reality, which does not correspond to its traditional descriptions in a variety of international agreements or ceremonial declarations issued by both sides.

The events unfolding in central Europe in the past months and weeks point to a parallel erosion of at least two elements which traditionally upheld European peace—a peace that took years to establish in the difficult conditions of the 4 decades of the cold war. The two supporting "pillars" were the ideological assumption which equated peace in Europe with the inviolability of a system based on Marxism-Leninism and the assumption of a permanent division of Germany and the affiliation of the two German states to the two opposing military blocs.

Both these pillars have now become fractured, and this initiated the process of the uniting of the two German states—a process whose dynamic is not predictable today. Fortunately, both East and West want the development of this process to be predictable and controlled.

The opening of the floodgates on the GDR-FRG border made the world realize that the division of Germany has not resulted in splitting the German nation in two. This is consistent with Stalin's expectations: Contrary to the stand taken by the Western powers, he was no advocate of Germany's division. Originally it was the Americans and the French who wanted the most radical solutions in that direction.

The recently revealed new dimension of the German potential poses the question: What will happen now? The first, overwhelming reaction in both East and West was a feeling of relief that the quest for democracy had triumphed also in the GDR. But immediately afterward the joy became eclipsed by anxiety about the future consequences of this development for both East and West. We also heard voices warning Germans against treating the question of German unification as exclusively their own, internal problem. The question is one of vital interest for all European states, and it is especially crucial for its immediate neighbors.

Consequently, I was astonished to hear Volker Ruehe Christian Democratic Union Secretary General declare that "no one has the right of veto." However, I do not know the full text of his statement and so I will refrain from commenting on it. I will only say that this kind of affirmation of "the German nation's will" has sounded an alarm signal for the whole continent.

The first person to table a proposal for changing the accustomed methods of solving the German question was new GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, who expressed his government's readiness to conduct talks with Bonn on the subject of establishing a "treaty-based union." Chancellor Kohl treated the proposal as an invitation to a dance and replied with a 10-point program in which he suggested that the cooperation between the two states should aim for the creation of a confederation and, subsequently, a federal state.

This provoked a number of significant reactions in the GDR. While Egon Krenz, secretary general of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, was openly critical of the proposal, government circles voiced different opinions. This would mean that as a result of the "earthquake" and the resultant changes at the top of the GDR establishment, profound changes in the evaluation of positions are now taking place. We cannot exclude the possibility that certain SED activists perceive in a dialogue with Bonn a chance for strengthening their own positions with the electorate. On the other hand, the negative reaction to Bonn's unification proposals from virtually every organized opposition group is striking in its resolve. These groups believe that the only worthwhile goal for democratic forces in the GDR is to develop an alternative system in reply to the system obtaining in the FRG—which is, in any case, criticized by a large proportion of West German society. At the same time, democratic opposition groups in the GDR are anxious not to allow their country to become the target and arena of aggressive "capitalist colonization" capable of destroying the achievements of which the East German people are really proud and which they would like to retain: the whole social welfare policy system. Let me add here that, in my opinion, there is probably no other country with a comparable system of social welfare legislation devised to protect the rights of women. I also think that many Germans living beyond the rivers of Oder and Neisse still place a high value on the typical Germano-Prussian attitudes, which probably make the GDR a state that is in essence more German than the Federal Republic, as the latter is by now so receptive to Western and, in particular, American influence.

Thus it could happen that the forces now in power in the GDR would be more willing to conduct a dialogue with Bonn than those whom the FRG has always regarded as potential allies.

We do not know exactly what the real moods and feelings of the public are. But when we remember that the population is still largely in the grip of the euphoria caused by the possibility of free and unrestricted contacts with those on "the other side" and that it must be influenced by the climate prevalent in the West German television programs, I would recommend that we be cautious in our assessments of the degree to which the leading representatives of those democratic opposition groups really represent the general public. There is also one more factor influencing the attitudes of the East German people: the widespread expectation that entering into extensive contacts with the FRG will result in a rapid rise in their own living standard. These hopes already constitute a powerful motive force propelling the GDR toward cooperation with the FRG. I do not believe that this will to cooperate can be controlled and rationed by Berlin in a manner which could minimize the potentially harmful consequences for the GDR statehood. I think we should reckon instead with the increasing force of magnetic attraction...

All this creates serious problems for the EC, that is, the European Common Market. It is only now that we begin to understand the wisdom of the French policy, which insisted on a rapid establishment of irrevocable structures of West European integration before the problem of opening the way to a unification of Germany appeared on the agenda. Today our leading expert on these questions, Professor Mieczyslaw Tomala, has pointed out to me the possibility that the order of events could be reversed—that is, that the Germans might first insist on establishing firm economic ties between their two states, initially on a federation basis, and only later set to work—this time from much stronger German positions—on the construction of integrated European structures. I do not have to spell out the consequences that this could have for everyone in Europe.

Reactions in our press to Chancellor Kohl's 10-point program have so far been limited to stressing the definitive status of the Oder-Neisse border. This issue is, naturally, the most important one for us, but we should also keep our eyes open to the much greater implications of the changes now taking place in the German question.

As far as the borders are concerned, it is a fact that Chancellor Kohl has failed to formulate any guarantees regarding the definitive Polish-German border line—just as he failed to do during his visit to Poland. He has stressed that only a united Germany will be able to take a position on this question. In this situation Europe should ask itself: Is it not significant that a chancellor who formulates a program which is to lead to a unification of Germany does not at the same time specify within what borders this united Germany should be created?

Incidentally, here is a polemical observation on recent statements by some politicians and journalists from the camp which holds power today.

They promote—apparently with complete inner conviction, too—the argument that the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] used to resort to the "German bogeyman" in order to force the Polish public to accept the alliance and close cooperation with the USSR, and in effect to strengthen its own hold on power. I do not deny that it was an important argument for Gomulka, for instance. But, after all, it was not the PZPR which was responsible for the problem of the Oder-Neisse border, but the FRG! In the struggle to force the Federal Republic to sign the 1970 treaty on normalization of mutual relations, including Article 1 of that treaty concerning the border question, the PZPR represented Polish national interests. This view has been and continues to be held also by the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. So let us not be provoked into losing our heads in fits of political frenzy. The reality of the potential German threat is evident even today, to judge from the intentional ambiguities of Bonn's rightwing circles, which are unhappy even with the 8 November Bundestag resolution which assures Poles that the future Germany would approve the definitive status of the Oder-Neisse border. Nevertheless, to judge from the writing of certain journalists originating from the former Workers Defense Committee [KOR] circles, you could get the impression that the PZPR invented the German problem so that it could oppress the Polish people with Moscow's support.

Nevertheless, I hope that one of the aspects of the logic of wielding power is that it makes you take notice of realities. This leads me to another observation. It is unfortunate—extremely unfortunate—that, at the very time when a rapprochement has been initiated between the two German states, a drastic deterioration had to take place in the tenor of relations between Poland and the GDR. The Berlin government's decision to introduce draconian measures in order to supposedly defend the fragile domestic market in conditions of widely open borders is not directed exclusively against Poles, but that is, nonetheless, the conclusion you could draw from the attitude to our citizens in the stores, restaurants, and hotels throughout that country. In these circumstances certain hostile—not to say nationalistic—reflexes reemerge on both sides with lightning speed. One of my West German colleagues even considered it advisable to voice the following warning, relevant to both of us: We must take care that the negative attitude to Poles in the GDR does not now, in conditions of open borders, spread to affect West German society too. It would be a sad contribution from the GDR to the search for pan-German solutions...

I cite this warning here, but I hope that this present difficult period in our relations with the GDR is only temporary and that our common objective interests will prevail. At the same time we Poles should not forget that the 1950 Zgorzelec treaty refers not to a border between Poland and the GDR but to a "Polish-German border." At that time, when the GDR was still a champion of German unity, it signed the treaty with us precisely in the name of the eventually united Germany. In view of the respective "gaps" in Chancellor Kohl's program, could not the GDR Volkskammer solemnly repeat the terms of this treaty now? At this precise moment this could be highly significant for the progress of our relations with both German states.

If we approach this whole complex question without ill-will or bias, and ask ourselves what it looks like from the perspective of "building a common European home," we will reach the conclusion that it is essential to bring about a radical breakthrough in relations between the two German states if we really want to overcome the present divisions in Europe. The Berlin Wall, which constituted tangible evidence of the reality of this division, in both its German and its European dimension, was incompatible with the realization of that "common home" maxim, which has already become inseparably linked with Gorbachev's name. Nor was it compatible with the victory of the movement for democracy in all Warsaw Treaty countries, apart from Romania.

The most important thing is that the opening of both German states and societies to the chance of normal mutual contacts (since the road to unification is, after all, long and winding) has put back on the agenda the possibility and the expediency of reaching a true, all-European peace agreement after 40 years of cold war—naturally, with both major powers' acting as parties to the agreement. But I am not thinking here of some overdue (according to many Bonn politicians) peace treaty between the victors and the vanquished of World War II. I am thinking of a peace agreement between East and West that would put a definitive end to the divisions created as a result of the cold war: a peace agreement that would provide a starting point for the construction of the "common home."

A treaty between "the Germans" and "the victors" is an unrealistic idea today because the term "the vanquished" is by now a historical concept. Today's balance of power does not resemble the balance of power in 1945 at all, and it is inconceivable that anyone should force the FRG today to do what had seemed an obvious thing immediately after the war: to pay for it. Besides, we owe the present picture of Europe—and especially the model of the past solution of the German question—far more to the cold war than to the earlier, "hot" one.

During his Rome visit Gorbachev suggested that a European conference be convened as soon as possible. If it does take place, the representatives of the 34 CSCE states will not be able to afford to pass these issues over in silence.

Premier Mazowiecki To Visit Belgium 30 Jan-2 Feb

LD2001011390 Warsaw PAP in English
1952 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 19—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki will pay an official visit to Belgium between Jan 30 and Feb 2 following the invitation from Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens.

Mazowiecki, EEC Agriculture Chief Discuss Aid

LD1301120690 Warsaw PAP in English
1827 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 12—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki today received Raymund McSharry, the commissioner for agriculture at the European Economic Community.

McSharry told PAP that during his meeting with the premier and representatives of the Polish Government he discussed to date food aid and aid for agriculture as well as further steps in this field.

The commissioner also stated that it was currently difficult to determine the volume of the agriculture fund comprising food donations. A part of these donations has not been sold yet. Some are on their way. Poland can expect 300 thousand tons of grain as well as 200 million ECU [European currency unit], of which 100 million is to be allotted to plant protection agents and fertilizers and 100 million to natural environment protection and training.

"I think that releasing food prices from administrative rigors and lifting subsidies as well as introducing market prices for the means of production for agriculture will not create a situation in which food will become inaffordable to many Poles. This is because I think that both the potential of agriculture in Poland, the efforts of your government as well as assistance from the EEC and other Western countries will turn out to be effective while the result will be a fast growth of farming production in Poland, hence also food supply," McSharry told PAP.

Export Development Bank, IFC Sign Agreement

LD1501143890 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1300 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] The Export Development Bank today signed an agreement with the International Finance Corporation [IFC], opening up the corporation's credit line for private and cooperative firms in Poland. The IFC is the biggest organization of its kind in the world, with promoting capital of $1.3 billion. On the basis of the agreement, cooperatives and private firms, through the mediation of the Office for Export Development, may request credits up to a level of 50 million West German marks. Repayment will take place in biannual installments, to a maximum of 10 years, with a 4-year [word indistinct] period.

Skubiszewski on Ministry's Personnel Policy

LD1701204890 Warsaw PAP in English 1741 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 17—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski conveyed to PAP an explanation pertaining to his ministry's personnel policy. It says in part:

"Changes in the diplomatic service staff have attracted my attention since I became foreign minister, that is over the last four months. Though it is a rather short period for personnel changes, it saw a few being made.

"Following my motion, the prime minister appointed a new undersecretary of state in the Foreign Ministry. He is the first non-party foreign vice-minister from time immemorial, an expert in international affairs and experienced organizer who has wide connections worldwide.

"As concerns ambassadors, they are appointed and recalled by the Polish president with prime minister's consent and following my motion. Currently, we are planning to appoint six new ambassadors. Speaking about the 'new' ones, I have in mind those who do not belong to the old system, before Prime Minister Mazowiecki's cabinet took office. I have accepted new personnel for seven culture centers and institutions at embassies. I have also new candidatures for posts of consuls in the USSR.

"A certain number of people wrote to me announcing their readiness to work in the diplomatic service. I do appreciate their goodwill and readiness. There are however objective requirements that can be checked. Neither Solidarity nor any others have alternative diplomatic corps. Under such circumstances, if we want to have new employees we must stake young people. The work on the system of diplomats training is in progress.

"I have forwarded a motion to recall 13 ambassadors who came from outside the Foreign Ministry (party secretaries, ministers and vice ministers). The near future will see more such recalls. I have also eliminated party posts linked with diplomatic ones in embassies and consulates. Other irregularities are also being removed."

Jaruzelski Addresses Diplomats at 11 Jan Meeting

AU1601094990 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jan 90 p 2

[Speech by President Wojciech Jaruzelski at an annual meeting with the diplomatic corps in Warsaw on 11 January]

[Text] Worshipful Father Nuncio, Your Excellencies, Ladies And Gentlemen!

Once again we are holding our traditional meeting. I greet old acquaintances with joy, and welcome the new members of this distinguished body with respect.

I warmly welcome the doyen of the diplomatic corps, Archbishop Jozef Kowalczyk, nuncio of the Holy See.

The resumption of diplomatic relations between the Polish Republic and Holy See was one of the most important developments in Polish foreign relations in the year gone by. Today, when the pope is a Pole and the Vatican has become a symbol of and an active spokesman for the philosophy of peace, dialogue, and reconciliation, this development is of particular importance for us.

Ladies and Gentlemen! The past year fully merits consideration as a landmark, particularly in the central and eastern part of Europe. The profound democratic changes here have strengthened and increased the feasibility of constructing a common European house.

For there is a obvious interdependence between the internal reforms in our part of the continent, and the phenomena occurring on a European scale, and even on a world scale. The success of these reforms will consolidate peace and enhance international cooperation. A disruption of these reforms could harm everyone. Therefore, it is so important for the processes of change to take place in a constructive and responsible manner.

One usually associates diplomacy with quiet offices and a slow and cautious assessment of events. However, there are periods of tempestuous events, whose energy causes the code of diplomacy to break down. Today, there is no doubt that our continent's broadly-conceived infrastructure is far behind the speed and extent of the changes that are taking place.

Europe should become more and more of a system of joined arteries. Building such a community on the basis of universal values and democratic principles calls for a free transfer of people, thoughts, and information. But the basic condition of European integration is economic substance, in other words a leveling-out of differences in the technological sphere, and a joint solving of environmental, energy, transportation, and telecommunications problems. This is what leads to a united Europe, this is what creates its spiritual and material fabric.

In my opinion, the summit meeting which Mikhail Gorbachev has proposed, commonly referred to as "Helsinki II", will show how much remains to be done in constructing the foundations of European unity. It could, with the passing of time, assume the form of what President Mitterrand has recently referred to as the real shape of a European confederation.

A new "modus vivendi" that conforms to the spirit of the age, a kind of "European constitution," is required. How should one interpret that? Perhaps it is time to amend and enrich the CSCE Final Act. Even more, perhaps it should be raised to the status of a treaty.

We in Poland realize that the great record of European civilization and culture possesses its dark side. The era of colonialism and of various forms of domination and intervention has left bad memories. That is why it is so important for the nascent new Europe to be a convincing model of peaceful, equal, and good-neighborly coexistence. With this aim, Poland too will act energetically for the sake of extinguishing conflicts and ensuring just relations between and a sovereign development of all states on every continent.

A concerted effort and, above all, the Soviet-American dialogue have resulted in increased confidence and a decreased military threat in this, the world's most dangerous spot. We are glad to see that today, in the rapidly changing international situation, there is an opportunity for Poland's well-known initiatives to become implemented. We hope that 1990 will witness accords, particularly on a major reduction in conventional armaments. For our part, we shall spare no efforts to make that possible.

Ladies and Gentlemen! The interests of national security possess an objective nature. Each successive Polish Government inherits, as it were, from its predecessor the axioms of our national raison d'etat. The continuity and consistency of Polish foreign policy have always been expressed in numerous proposals, in the search for dialogue, in the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and in the inviolability of our frontiers.

We attach great importance to the new thinking in the development of authentic, mutually beneficial bonds with our allies, particularly with our immediate neighbors, including a fundamental reconstruction of the mechanisms of multilateral economic cooperation. At the same time, we reiterate our openness and declare our readiness to expand our relationships with all countries of Europe and the world.

Permit me, ladies and gentlemen, to make a digression, a kind of "caeterum censeo," to which I as a Pole feel entitled.

We are closely following German developments. We are keeping a particularly close eye on them from the angle of those matters which are of crucial importance to Poland and which so far have not been satisfactorily resolved. In particular, I mean the final and unconditional recognition of Poland's western and northern frontiers, which the German Democratic Republic acknowledged at its very inception. We are also ready to continue to search actively, alongside politicians and parties in the Federal Republic, for a genuine, permanent reconciliation, free of any ambiguity and delaying tactics.

We feel that in the forthcoming 45th anniversary of the victory over fascism, a formal and even ceremonious reaffirmation by everyone, especially the principal wartime allies, of Poland's territorial integrity would be welcomed with no small satisfaction by all the Polish people. Poland suffered immeasurable losses in the war. It contributed to the liberation of many other countries. It played a major role in Europe's peaceful development. Today, it is playing a pioneering role in the process of democratic transformations. Therefore, Poland has the moral, political, and historic right to immutable and safe borders.

Our Polish dilemma is, after all, no longer the question of "to be or not to be." Instead, it reads: "How to be, in what kind of Europe, in what kind of world, among what kind of neighbors?"

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen. In the year that has just ended, the Polish nation performed historic labor. New opportunities have emerged. These must be used to the fullest extent. However, it is going to be a tough year. It is going to demand perseverance, prudence, and far-sightedness. It will require particular care in order to strengthen the fabric of national accord, consolidate domestic tranquility and stability, and radically improve economic efficiency, while at the same time preserving inalienable social values and ensuring that the human factor is never forgotten.

At this point, I wish to thank you for the understanding and support of your governments for the changes that took place in Poland in the year gone by. Thank you also for all the many new year wishes that I have received from heads of state and from other distinguished persons in the east, west, north, and south.

Mazowiecki Misses Meeting Due to Illness

LD1901214390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Excerpts] As a result of the endeavors of the confederation of Polish employees more than 300 directors from all the sectors of the economy met in the office of the Council of Ministers. Replacing the sick premier, the meeting was opened by Waldemar Kuczynski. [passage omitted]

Students Meet in University Square 21 Jan

AU2101195590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1727 GMT 21 Jan 90

["Student Meeting"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/1/1990—One month after the victory of the people's revolution in Romania, a meeting was organized by the League of the Students of the University of Bucharest on Sunday 21 January in the University Square of Bucharest, to mark the day of 22 December 1989. Alongside the students of Bucharest, attending were representatives of university centres of Timisoara, Constanta, Craiova, Tg. Mures, Sibiu, Cimpulung Muscel, other localities.

The 30 students who took the floor evoked the memory of those killed in the revolution. Likewise, claims were made, among which real university autonomy, the elimination of incompetent professors from higher learning and of those compromised in the previous regime, proper living conditions in hostels and canteens.

Speaking at the meeting were also representatives of the Union of Young Europeans, the Liberal Students of Paris and of the "Amphia" review, who expressed the support of their organization for the Romanian revolution.

The meeting ended with a religious service at the place where young people fell in the University Square on 22 December 1989.

Next, the group of representatives of the League organized a press conference for Romanian and foreign newspapermen. The aims and character of the league were evinced inter alia and an appeal was made for solidarity among students.

Iliescu Addresses Student Roundtable 21 Jan

AU2101215590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, at a meeting with students in Bucharest on 21 January—recorded]

[Text] First of all, I would like to thank all of you for your participation in these roundtable talks, even though the table is a long, square one. However, this has been a discussion, a dialogue which I think has been useful for all of us, regardless of the fact that some divergent ways of approaching issues emerged, which is natural in such a discussion.

I personally have not desired, and do not desire, to introduce elements of confrontation, but I support an open dialogue with absolutely everybody. As far as we are concerned, the difficulties we—all of us who are working here within the Front [National Salvation Front—NSF]—face relate to the fact that we are up to our ears in a great pile of current problems, which takes up our time from morning until evening, sometimes even our nights, to solve. We do not even have the necessary time to make contact with various elements of people for a more active dialogue—which would be very useful for us—or to plan and inform people about our thoughts regarding the future.

Regarding the number of issues that have been raised, I probably will not be able—and it is difficult—to address all of them, many will have to be thought over, and we will try to answer them in the future. I would like to stop and answer about five categories of issues.

The first big category that has possibly taken up the major part of our discussions was the issue of organizing youth in various forms. Most of those who discussed this issue were students and, certainly, they raised the issues of organizing students, and various other problems that students are facing.

A portion of them, the issues which have already been approached by the Ministry of Instruction, were answered by the prime minister.

I believe that, this process of organization is the key issue at present. As a matter of fact, this was the first question raised: How do we view the increase of contribution of young people to the continuing process of change. I believe that the first issue is to define this process of organization, so that through their representatives, at all levels, young people of all categories can be present and can ensure an active presence. This means establishing organization in enterprises, institutions, educational units at local levels and at county levels to ensure the representation at the central level. Certainly, this process in not simple. It was much simpler in the past, when everything was done in accordance with the given orders and recommendations, and everything was organized from top to bottom. We do not plan to do such a thing. I believe that it is much healthier for this process to move from bottom to top, and in this way it will have a real basis of self-organization of the youth in various categories. However, it is not a simple process to set up this dialogue and these contacts and ensure the representatives at various levels. Maybe we will not even reach—and it is difficult to achieve something like that—a uniform organization, which is all knitted together in a single organizational form. There will be youth organizations of various parties, which represent the political organization of the youth with various political orientations. I believe the most comprehensive will have to be the organization of trade unions and according to professional differences, which beyond the political affiliation will set up some representative structure of the young people, as a social category and which will be able to represent the organization at various levels and hold talks with representatives of the administration and of political bodies.

Yesterday, we discussed this issue with the representatives of students at the Bucharest University. As far as the Bucharest students are concerned, I understand that currently there are two major structures that have already taken a better shape. One is the Students' League, which comprises students from several institutes, and the second is the Student Trade Union of the Polythechnical Institute. Some other organizations are taking shape at the AS [expansion unknown], at the Construction Faculty, and other places. I believe that once these bodies are organized, they should organize a dialogue, a contact at the level of University Center, so that—for example—they can take over the material basis of the UASR [Union of Romanian Student Association] and of the House of Culture, because many people complained about this. There is a framework and a possible material base, which can be equally used by all these bodies. The same applies to territories, at the level of counties and towns.

Many of the questions raised referred to the activity of the Front and to the insufficient information provided about our activities.

There are two points of views on this issue. Some believe that we do not provide sufficient information on our activities and others say that we have monopolized the mass media and that we dominate television, all mass media, and the press. On the otherhand, those who work within the Front, complain that the Front does not have its own magazine. The entire press presents different opinions and nobody can be certain what the position of the Front is, so some say that the Front should have an independent magazine. Others called for an Information Bulletin, which should offer information on the Front and its activities. As you see, opinions differ. I believe that indeed, we do not provide sufficient information. But, how can we do this if not through an independent press organ. Maybe we should have more organized dialogues with all press organs so that the direct information on the Front's activities would be presented in a better way. I believe that this is really one of our shortfalls. As a matter of fact, everybody suspects that we have some very strong structures and that we are holding all the reigns of power, including the mass media. The truth is that—maybe it would be better to have such a force—the Front's structures are a little bit fragile, both as organizational structures of our activities and as a means of using the mass media for ensuring a more direct communication with people. I believe that we are on weak ground in this respect; we are not walking on a very strong surface.

I believe that we are indeed duty bound to provide information, and criticism is justified as far as our presence before the public and the information we provide to the public is concerned. We do not hide anything. We do not do anything—how should I put it—behind a screen, hidden from the public's view. Most of our efforts so far has resulted in some concrete measures, both in the government and in the general political areas, and everything has been published in connection with what we have thought and with what we have done. Our actions are out in the open. This month can represent a whole report of measures taken by the Front, and these have been our major activities: We have taken measures to free the political, social, economic, and intellectual life from very many obstacles and restrictions. The major activities during this period have been of a legislative nature, to ensure a new framework in which to carry out the social and political life in our country and to free the society from a great many restrictions. These are the major things that the Front has achieved so far. We are mostly criticized for the manner in which we express our concepts.

As I have mentioned since the beginning, we base our activity on the public platform of the Front and we have never departed from its fundamental political principles, which form the foundation of this platform. What we have not done so far is to provide details on the planning of the long-term activity, including the preparations for elections and the post-election period, and what shape these actions will take in the future. On this issue, we are indeed duty bound to provide more concrete information.

Many questions refer to our current activities, because, also, in this area we owe some explanation.

A question was asked regarding the activity in enterprises. We tried to meet this organizational process halfway, which was born at the level of enterprises, and we supplied the guidelines for the activity of NSF councils in enterprises, including combining their activity with the activity of the Trade Unions that are being established

Sometimes, the situation is incomplete, for example, when the Trade Unions were set up before the NSF councils, there are units with trade unions and without NSF councils, and in other units there are NSF councils and only now are trade unions are being established. Therefore, for instance, there should be efforts to establish an organizational framework for the dialogue between the organizational form and the representation of workers in an enterprise. Because, sometimes there is an organization that is called NSF council but has a professional representative structure in its dealings with the administration, we suggested the establishment of an administration council which should comprise five representatives of the enterprise leadership, of the Front, and of the trade union; three from the Front—president, vice president, and secretary—and two from the trade union. That means that this equilibrium of the representative bodies at the enterprise level should be established. In this way they can draw up an idea of a participational democracy and of a framework of coparticipation of workers and laborers in the management of enterprises, as an idea which has to be better explained and worked out in the future.

I even understand people's suspicions about the Front. So many things have accumulated during our history. It is natural to suspect everybody who comes to power of being tempted by that power. Suspicions about us do not surprise me and we are duty bound to eliminate them. Likewise, I am not surprised by the lack of patience.

Only one month has passed. Everybody hoped that during this month we would solv both the immediate and long-term problems of our country. Of course, if somebody starts begins thinking in a reasonable way, he realizes that this is not possible. However, I understand this impatience and the dissatisfaction. That is, we have difficult problems to face. We had a great many difficulties in the past as well. We were not able to eliminate them once the old regime was overthrown. On the contrary, the elements of instability make some things more difficult, for example the issue of supply to the population. We have difficulties in supplying foodstuffs. We have difficulties in supplying energy and heating, both for citizens and enterprises. These difficulties could not disappear overnight. People—how should I put it—want these problems solved at once. It is natural that there are dissatisfactions and people want to turn to those who handle the country's affairs; to turn to the Front.

From this point of view, we do not reproach anybody for such attitudes, but people reproach us. People criticize us, complain, while we do what we can. We are always understanding but maybe we do not always succeed in solving problems by the measures that we are adopting.

A third category of problems: Here many questions in connection with education have been raised, since this concern is dominant on a larger scale. This is the relationship between changes and continuity. Today we have also discussed freezing this academic year. People want everything changed immediately. I would like that, as of now, it seems to me that in this process we have to think of how to combine the process of changes with ensuring continuity. The same problem we have to face in the economic area, too, both on a large and small scale, and at the level of enterprises as well. What would happen if workers in an enterprise said: Let us stop working and until we reorganize the whole system of economy, the new relations, clarify the problems of principles, the life-plan relationship, the organizational structure of enterprise, until we issue a new law or statute for the enterprise, we shall not produce. What would that mean for the economy? It would be a catastrophe. As far as education is concerned, it is the same thing. Why should we halt the educational process in order to begin restructuring? Let the process continue and while it is in progress, we should think over ways for achieving the new structures for improving personal relations and for improving issues of a principle nature within the higher education system, general education, and all levels of education. I mean that we should combine concrete measures to solve urgent problems while we define long term thoughts, such as: Where are we heading. The measure we are taking should be concrete steps and intermediary measures which prepare this idea of the Front. Some ideas have been drawn up in connection with education. This process should move in parallel with the elaboration of the education law. We must elaborate many regulations and legal norms, beginning with the Constitution of the country, and later issue laws which should govern many fields of our country's activity. We cannot address all of these issues during this period. They will be the task of the future parliament of our country and of the future government, which will have to prepare, in general, everything that the country's future development will require.

All we can do is to draft and take measures for this period. From this point of view all suggestions and proposals addressed to us will be considered and we will see what can be done for this current period until the elections. The rest—the future prospects—will be thought out both for us and for the political formations which will come up with new programs and which will offer the country some great ideas meant to lead the future structures and forms of organization of power as long term programs for the upcoming years and for the upcoming periods.

And finally a fourth question of a principle nature in the development of activity—that is, the principles of democracy. I agree with what has been said. A true democracy should reflect the rights of minorities. Certainly, in adopting measures, in any world the parliaments are based on the principle of majority in adopting laws and decisions; the majority decides. At the same time, it is a fundamental principle that the minority should have the right to express its points of view, maintain its positions, even fight in order to demonstrate the validity of their own policy which could become the position of majority in the future. I think that this is a fundamental principle which we all have to learn. This includes also the technique of dialogue. It seems to me that not all of us have this practice of dialogue but I hope that it can be learned from the practice of our activity and such meetings can only be a way of promoting this technique of dialogue.

And finally a last category of issues refers to the technique of information which I have already mentioned, when I referred to the use of current means of information.

There are also many concrete problems about which we ask you to let us think and decide the best way in which we should address them.

Now, a question which seemed to me needs an explanation. Talking about (? embezzlement of national wealth), I did not mean—from my own point of view—to limit the possibilities of getting out more openly in the world and to promote various forms of economic cooperation including cooperation with foreign capital. [sentence as heard] We should promote joint ventures on the basis of Romanian and foreign capital, and state enterprises should begin dialogues with foreign societies in regards to economic cooperation, as joint ventures, but ensuring the control of the national representations over the national wealth. I mean that 51 percent of the shares of an enterprise should be in the hands of Romanian authorities. That is, there are ways to ensure forms of active cooperation and promote active relations, and at the same time maintain the national control over national resources, national wealth, and over economic activity of enterprises on our country's territory. Within this context should be understand what I have said before. I did not hint at or criticize positions of parties in connection with this issue. This issue was included in our dialogue with the representatives of the National Peasant Party, which was a very calm dialogue based on mutual understanding. I have met with representatives of other parties as well. Some enhance the ideas of the Front, are even ready to participate in the representative structure of the Front, and, as far as the concept of clarifying our positions, they want to run in the elections by the side of the Front. These are questions that we still have to clarify, the definitive position and ways in which to run in the election; all issues that we have not discussed at the Council level, but such issues are already being raised through requests from units in the territories, and other bodies in enterprises which requested clarifications.

That is all that I wanted to tell you in conclusion and with this I extend thanks to all of you.

Iliescu, Ionescu Statements

AU2101200090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Today, the president of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, Mr Ion Iliescu met with representatives of youth organizations, which are being set up in institutions of higher learning, with youth organizations of the newly established parties, and with youth in some enterprises and institutions.

The meeting was attended by NSF First Deputy President Dumitru Mazilu, NSF Vice President Cazimir Ionescu, and Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman. Also attending were members of NSF Commissions for youth issues, and public relations and representatives of the press, radio, television, and ROMPRES. The meeting participants discussed major issues related to organizing young people in our country. Mr Ion Iliescu, answering the questions of those present, examined our country's current socioeconomic situation, tackled the topical problems that the NSF Council leadership is faced with, and made special reference to the particular role of young people in the activity of democratizing life and developing the new Romania.

At journalists' request, Mr Ion Iliescu, NSF Council president, said:

[Begin recording] [Iliescu] First of all, I would like to speak about the usefulness of such a meeting. It is the first time that we met with a large number of representatives of youth organizations or of certain categories of young people—primarily a large number of students—as well as young people from industrial enterprises, institutions, pupils, and young representatives of certain parties. I think that this has been a fertile and useful dialogue, not lacking in polemic elements, and as is natural, there have been different orientations, options, and viewpoints. During such a dialogue it is natural that points of view are being expressed in a different way. However, in the end, I think it was a useful dialogue, both for us and for all those present. We have clarified some viewpoints, we briefed each other on several issues, and we succeeded in answering some questions, others remaining to be studied and be thought over. We should better define our positions on all these issues; however, this meeting has shown us the usefullness and the necessity of some contacts and dialogues with representatives of various categories, primarily with young people.

[Unidentified reporter] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Mr Cazimir Ionescu, NSF Council vice president, also made some statements to the press:

[Begin recording] [Ionescu] To tell the truth, I do not have much to say, since the president stressed the major ideas that resulted from this meeting. I believe that, as a matter of coincidence, this meeting is taking place a month after the revolution, and maybe it is not a coincidence that this meeting has been held here, at the university. The students organized a commemorative meeting here and we are sorry that we could not attend it, since our dialogue lasted longer than expected as there were many issues to tackle. It seems to me that toward the end of this dialogue, one could feel the results of the school of dialogue. It seems to me that we, all of us, have started learning to discuss certain issues [words indistinct] and not consider a dialogue with pro and con arguments vis a vis a principle as an attack of somebody else's ideas. I think we have gained much through this attitude. Only in this way can we step on the path of true democracy and on the path of discovering the truth through dialogue.

[Iliescu] I would like to add something else, that I have mentioned at the beginning of the meeting, and which probably sums up the meeting—that is, the diversity of opinions and interest that have been expressed here and which shows that it is not impossible to have a unity around certain ideas [word indistinct]. I would like to say that 24 January, the anniversary of Union [of Romanian Principalities] is approaching, and only a month has passed since the overthrow of the dictatorship which propelled a fundamental idea, the national consensus in connection with overthrowing the dictatorship and the idea of unity necessary to ensure the renewal of the county. There was no disaggreement about this during the dialogue.

Certain elements of diversity appeared now, as well as different positions, but the fundamental ideas on the need of national salvation—that is, of saving the economic life and normalizing economy, renewing national economy, and renewing the sociopolitical life, all these issues remain as issues of major importance for the uniform national interest. I believe that around these ideas, regardless of political options, political lines, or political affiliation, and regardless of various positions, all of us are interested in maintaining this line. Even under conditions of electoral struggle during the next elections, the major task—that is, the uniting of all forces for ensuring the recovery and the renewal of our country, must remain the major task, the task of all those who work in enterprises, in villages, and of those who work in cultural, educational, and scientific institutions, as well as of all those who militate for the progress of our country.

[Reporter] Mr president, before today's dialogue with young people, there were meetings with other social elements, and through your words I understood that in the 45 meetings that you held recently, the workers whom you met and talked with, that no issue was missing. Is there pressure from the top directed toward the Front, to participate in elections?

[Iliescu] Yes, during the past days I held meetings with various categories of working people, with representatives of the Jiu Valley miners; of some Bucharest industrial enterprises; of NSF local organizations; and of some parties which have sided with the Front such as the Ecologist Party, the Democratic Party, the Free Democratic Party, and all of them stressed the need to maintain the Platform of the Front as a platform for future political actions.

[Reporter] Why have I asked you this question? Because during today's dialogue, very many young people asked you about it...

[Iliescu, interrupting] That is right. It was necessary to clarify the Front's political presence on the eve of elections and during the elections, and to solidify the Front's platform, which has proposed itself to unite all creative and active forces of our people around the major tasks of saving, renewing the whole socioeconomic, political, and moral life of Romanian society. The solidifying of some other platforms on this platform and the presence at the next elections can be based on this platform. [sentence as heard] These are questions to which the Front will have to give definite answers and it is necessary not to withdraw at this stage from the political activity in our country.

[Reporter] As was also mentioned today, national salvation and national renewal is not a problem that lasts only until the elections.

[Iliescu] This remains a major task for a long time.

[Reporter] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Roman on Education Issues

AU2101223890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1822 GMT 21 Jan

[Report on speech by Prime Minister Petre Roman at a meeting with representatives of Romanian youth in Bucharest on 21 January—recorded]

[Text] During today's meeting between representatives of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council and young people, a number of questions were put to the government. These questions were answered by Prime Minister Petre Roman:

[Begin Roman recording] First of all, I would like to make a general statement on education, as somebody who comes from this discipline. It is in the area of education where the most serious distortions occurred, as far as damage to society is concerned. The interference of the lunatic dictator in education was brutal, primitive, and devoid of any kind of understanding of the current realities and democratic principles of modern education. Therefore, we are now faced with a large number of problems and difficulties in education. Their resolution can be found in two ways: The most important one is to recreate democratic institutions within our educational system, through the combined efforts of the democratic force of our students and teaching staff. I can tell you that this democratic force has wrought most positive changes in the sphere of education. On the other hand, there is also the government's policy, which is implemented by the Ministry of Education; a policy that should be worked out by people with a profound understanding of the meaning of modern education and should contribute to a general improvement of the situation in this field, through appropriate government measures in this respect. This is how education can make progress under current conditions.

Regarding our policy as it is implemented by the Ministry of Education, we are clearly in favor of the autonomy of higher education institutions. I can also tell you that autonomy as we understand it, including Minister Sora and his colleagues, goes even farther than what we have accomplished until now. Many teaching cadres and other leading personnel in higher education complain that no guidelines and decisions are coming from the ministry. As a matter of fact, this means that some people are still thinking in the old ways, which we did away with for good after our revolution.

University autonomy means that the structure of the educational process is decided by the respective higher education institute, through its elected democratic bodies, namely the Professors Council and the Senate, where the students should be represented in larger numbers and should be able to have a greater say. It is the duty of our educational system to rapidly correct the disastrous situation prevailing now.

The first thing we did was to double the budget of education. It is still not enough, but at least we did something, namely we doubled the educational budget for this year. Second, we had to restimulate the deadlocked university staff and research mechanism, particularly the procedure of supervising examinations for doctoral degrees—everybody knows that peak research, that is basic long-term research in all countries in the world begins in higher educational institutes. We are now examining these problems. There are even more difficult problems in secondary education. I do not wish to dwell upon them now because they are not of direct concern for you.

The problem was raised here to freeze the current university year. Who stands to profit from that? In my opinion, nobody. Like in all other fields, we are now concerned with preserving the normal course of the social and economic life. This means continuity at all costs. Why should we freeze this university year? Because some are displeased with the fact that certain professors are still in place? Well, if they are incompetent and still on the job, the solution is quite simple: The students need not attend those courses for a few weeks, then the respective professors will realize that their place is not there, but somewhere else.

This is not the problem. I heard that some people want to scrape the industrial economy and organization discipline. This means that this discipline, which should actually be called management, is not being properly taught and has to be reorganized. We will not be able to find adequate cadres overnight. However, this does not mean that we should obstruct the educational system because of this discipline. This is not reasonable, nor is it right.

There are also a number of problems relating to the living conditions of students. Here, autonomy should also have its say. I mean, autonomy in the dialogue between the students' trade unions and the leadership structures of higher education bodies as well as autonomy in the functioning of these higher education leadership structures. If we continue to wait for the ministry to decide whether to repair a given students dormitory or not, well, nothing will probably come to pass. You can be sure that the government is very concerned with the living conditions of the students, as it is with the living conditions of the population in general. I have, therefore, stated the government's immediate strategy and strategic priority—as an emanation of the NSF—namely, to increase the people's living standards, including the living conditions of the students.

Some people raised the issue of the law on education. We are very far from discussing a future law on education. We have not even begun working out a draft of such a law. I can tell you, and you can believe me, that the law on education is a very profound issue, which can only be adopted after a public debate on this issue. We do not have other basic laws, we still do not have a constitution. We cannot proceed with this as yet. As I have already told you, what we are doing now is to modify and correct all that was wrong in the area of education and to remedy the situation so as to be able to develop a modern educational system and reflect the students' desire, which I believe is sincere, namely to study in a different way.

It is understandable and obvious that—aside from all these demands concerning the students' living conditions, which must be resolved—the position of the teaching staff and education vis-a-vis the students will also radically change. Well, the practice of crying and begging professors for grades is finished. We are entering the era of truth in this area as well. If we kick out lies from all areas, let us do away with them in the area of educational quality, too.

In this connection, I would like to say a few words about foreign students. I asked the minister of education to get in touch with the embassies of all countries that have students here, to tell them that we no longer permit the lies concerning these students. We categorically refuse the foreign currency we used to receive this way. We are not interested in this kind of foreign currency. We want to make sure that these students are capable. Believe me, we will find some criteria to immediately check whether they are capable or not. We are well aware of the fact that the large majority of these students did not have to pass any entrance examination, and what is more, did not even finish high school. This was one of the big fallacies of education during the time of dictatorship. I am sure that these students will leave on their own. We do not need their currency under these conditions. We have already started taking steps in this direction.

Some people raise have raised the problem of the students' right to work. It is true that, in all countries in the world, the students are entitled to earn some money to see their way through school. On the other hand, one should not forget that we are quite pressed for jobs right now, when we have many people without any kind of job, let alone a job of their liking. Therefore, in my opinion, it is not fair that a student should both study and work. The lie about the students attending evening courses—students who worked for 4 hours per day, after which they attended courses—was a double lie: Both at their jobs and at their courses. I am for a single form of education, with the qualification that those attending evening courses now should have the right to finish their education.

Of course, the students can and should have the right to make some money—to finance their studies, and not just for that, but also to make some extra money; it is their right. However, this should be done through employment in specific areas. We will promote and will soon publish a law on free initiative in small-scale industry and services. Will a student who opens a workshop be able to study, too? In my opinion, such a thing will just perpetuate the lies we had to live with until now. One should realize that the measures we are going to adopt with a view to expanding the use of manpower are primarily meant to deal with the existing situation and reality, namely that there are many people without jobs, not only without suitable jobs, but any kind of job.

Finally, I regret to say that my colleague, a valuable (?philotechnician) and latter-day liberal politician, tried to belittle the Front. The revolution was profoundly and absolutely illegal—if it had not been illegal, it would not have been a revolution. After victory, it has acquired legitimacy—or rather its emanation, which was born in the days of the revolution—that is, the Front. We will not renounce this legitimacy, even though they may think that the historical parties have a so-called historical mission in this country. On this matter, I would like to say that this is my personal opinion, but it also expresses a more profound trend of thinking. If we begin to cast doubts on the legality of the revolution, then we are casting doubts on the entire process of overthrowing the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu.

In conclusion, let us turn back to the problems of education and the future development of the educational process. From what I was told by the Ministry of Education and from my direct contacts, practically all management bodies in education have been restructured or in the process of being restructured—Professors' Councils, Senates, and so forth. In many places there are already people who were elected through truly democratic processes. This is the first and foremost way to remove hyprocrisy from education.

We should find ways and means to receive from you all the necessary information regarding various problems pertaining to the prerogatives of the Ministry of Education, which require consultation with the students. We should have time to think them over and find solutions only after consultations with the students. This is my opinion. Thank you. [end recording]

Businessman Ratiu To Open Daily, Enter Elections

AU2001205590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] AFP announces that Ion Ratiu, British businessmen of Romanian origin, who settled in London after the war, announced that he will go to Bucharest next week with a cargo plane which will carry the equipment and the necessary material to create a big daily newpaper with a circulation of 500,000 printed copies.

Mr Ratiu added that the rotary printing press will be transported in trucks and will be accompanied by a team of technicians who will put them into operation. Mr Ratiu has already announced that he intends to run in the next election for the National Peasant Party (Christian Democratic).

Popescu on Timisoara NSF Council Elections

AU2001223190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1504 GMT 20 Jan 90

["Timisoara: NSF Bodies Set Up"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—Following Mr Lorin Fortuna's resignation from the office of chairman of the County National Salvation Front Council, Major General Gheorghe Popescu and a group of officers from Timisoara garrisons were invested with the mission to ensure order and correctness in the election of NSF committees and commissions in enterprises, institutions, and localities as well as the delegates to the election of a new County NSF Council, ADEVARUL specifies in an interview with Mr Popescu who underscores that the Army wants in no way to substitute that body. Citizens have come with the proposal that one delegate should be elected in 200 residents in Timisoara, while in the other localities one in 400 he said.

So far, NSF councils have been set up in 90 percent of the county's localities. An electoral commission was also created to elaborate the legal framework for elections to the new county bodies. The commission has nothing in common with the former NSF bodies, and its members will have neither the attribute of delegates nor the attribute of candidates for the bodies to be elected. The elections will be objective as the vote will be secret, individual, on only one list of candidates which is to be longer than the number of the ones to be elected. After the elections due on 28 January, the Army ends its mission within the Front and will continue to deal with its specific problems, Major General Gheorghe Popescu also said.

Securitate 'Terrorist Offensive' Rumors Dismissed

AU2001151690 Paris AFP in English 1429 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 20 (AFP)—The trial of four top officials of the Ceausescu dictatorship could open "in a few days, at the beginning of next week", the public prosecutor Gheorghe Robu said in an interview published Saturday.

In a separate interview, deputy state prosecutor Gheorghe Dragonescu said authorities had rounded up all former members of Romania's dreaded secret police, the Securitate, and dismissed rumors that those who had escaped capture would launch a "terrorist offensive" this month.

The four top officials are former Interior Minister Tudor Postelnicu; Emil Bobu, the Ceausescu couple's righthand man; former First Deputy Prime Minister Ion Dinca, and Manea Manescu, a member of the Romanian Communist Party Politburo.

Mr. Robu told the youth daily TINERETUL LIBER on Friday that they would be tried on charges of "complicity and genocide" and not for their jobs in the discredited regime. The four are accused of ordering troops to fire on a crowd and having demonstrators killed.

Mr. Dragonescu said the number of Securitate agents still at large was "near zero", according to the daily ADEVARUL.

He said "all the terrorists either died in the fighting during the revolution, or were arrested and are now under investigation". A few "managed to get across the border", but he did not say how many or where to.

Mr. Dragonescu said after Mr. Ceausescu's fall, the Army "arrested far more suspects than those actually guilty of terrorist acts". Those were cleared of any wrongdoing and were released. Recent press reports criticized the alleged release of "terrorists", particularly in the central city of Brasov.

Mr. Dragonescu dismissed rumors that Securitate agents still on the loose would attack on January 26, the anniversary of Mr. Ceausescu's birthday which, under the old regime, was a day of great ceremony.

"These rumors are part of a psychological offensive led by other adversaries of the revolution, with the unconscious and involuntary help on the part of the population," he said.

Leaders of the National Salvation Front (NSF) Council, the provisional government, have accused some opposition parties, including the National Farmers' Party [National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic)], of starting the rumors.

Mr. Dragonescu said that expert reports suggested that the old regime may have used "sophisticated electronic systems to simulate weapons' fire", according to the interview.

Few 'Terrorists' Reportedly at Large

AU2001203990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1842 GMT 20 Jan 90

["The Number of Terrorists at Large: Zero"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—"What is the percentage of individuals responsible for or suspected to have committed acts of terrorism on the days of the revolution in Romania who are arrested and under inquiry?" was a question to which Major-General Gheorghe Diaconescu, deputy procurator-general, answered: "The Armed Forces arrested far more suspects that the real number of individuals who were guilty of acts of terrorism over December 21- 30, 1989. And the explanation is quite simple: these terrorists belonged to a special force of the Ministry of the Interior and, as a first step, everyone with that force was arrested following a selection according to specific legal actions, the procurators went through the activities of all the members of that force on the days of the revolution and the only ones to be placed under further investigation were the ones who proved to be true terrorists.

"Some of the terrorists died and others fled the country. At the end of overall inquiries and according to the number of the wounded and of the dead, as well as to information supplied by authorities in the neighbouring countries, we will be able to get an accurate picture. For the time being, I can tell you that the number of terrorists at large in the country's territory is close to zero."

Voican Does Not Blame All Securitate Members

AU2001223090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1150 GMT 20 Jan 90

["An Interview With Mr. Gelu Voican"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—Mr. Gelu Voican, Romanian deputy prime minister, shows in an interview with the newspaper ADEVARUL that one should distinguish between the spirit of the former institution of security as such and the attitude toward those employed by it. Not all security cadres can be accused en bloc for the major charges against the heads of this institution, said Voican, recalling that numerous security officers and NCO's joined the revolution, arms in hand, disregarding the orders, and others supported it by passive resistance in their units.

Timisoara Trials To Open 'In a Few Days'

AU2001203790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 20 Jan 90

["On the Trials in Timisoara"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—In a few days' time 22 individuals will be taken to court separately in the martyr city of Timisoara on charges of abetting genocide and favouring the commitment of that offence. Another more than 40 individuals suspected of having been involved in the respective offences are under strict surveillance and investigation, and they will be held responsible according to the country's laws and in line with the guilt of each of them, said Lieutenant-Colonel Vasile Cozma, coordinator of a team that investigate the events in Timisoara over 16-25 December 1989. Further more, he said, the Military Procurator's bodies, in close cooperation with the Army and with the police, continue to gather evidence to determine the truth and to discover all those who were involved in reprimanding the peaceful demonstrators in Timisoara.

Miners Pleased With Results of NSF Talks

AU1901221790

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 2020 GMT on 19 January, immediately after the 3-minute long item on today's meeting between Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, and Prime Minister Petre Roman with a delegation of Jiu Valley miners carries a 10-minute long recording of "opinions aired by representatives of workers from the Jiu Valley mining enterprises, after the meeting, to our correspondent Alexandru Stark."

One miner, a delegate from the Uricani mining enterprise, assures his fellow miners that "we fought for your rights and claims," adding that "in general, our claims have been solved." The same delegate then calls "on our miners to deliver as much coal as possible to the country, because it is coal for our country, a free country."

Another delegate says that "people should not listen to all kinds of untrue rumors," and that "all should behave like true miners" and "go about their business," because "we solved some things here that you had never dreamed of."

Several other delegates appeal to young people to come to the Jiu Valley, "as there are plenty of vacant positions there," assuring them of "good wages and good recreational conditions." All delegates express their belief in the "goodwill of the country's leadership."

Tokes on Need To Solve Minority Problem

AU1601221690 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Report by Doris Wagner on "exclusive" interview with Romanian pastor Laszlo Tokes, a member of the Hungarian ethnic minority; date and place not given—Tokes' statement in English with superimposed German translation]

[Text] Pastor Laszlo Tokes is being guarded by soldiers wherever he goes. Last week he meet with 64 other pastors of his church in Satomare. They discussed how the Reformed Church, that has been discredited because of collaboration with the former government, can be reformed. The Hungarians were already waiting for Tokes in Satomare and he was enthusiastically welcomed. He was supposed to give a speech. Is the pastor a hero? Women break into tears when he speaks.

I am not a hero, Tokes says later in an ORF interview. I am a pastor who did what he had to do.

Concerning his own future, Laszlo Tokes states:

[Begin Tokes recording] I have told the new government in Bucharest that I do not want to become a professional politician. First of all, I am a minister of God. However, if a situation should arise in which I am really needed in politics, I will do what I can. There is no contradiction between our belief and politics. As a matter of fact, politics is present everywhere in life. In any case, there is enough work. Therefore, I could stand as a candidate for parliament which has to be newly elected, or I could participate in drafting the new minority laws. It would be possible for me to help develop the minorities at the local level. Many former members of the old apparatus are still in office at the local level and are against the reconciliation between the Romanians and the minorities.

As far as the future of the minorities is concerned, I think that they should stay in the country. A joint future of Romanians and Hungarians has become possible now. We must jointly build the new society of our country. There were hostilities and animosities between Romanians and Hungarians, which can be traced back to the past. The Ceausescu regime fanned distrust according to the principle: Divide and rule. Thus, a solution to the minority problem has become very difficult. However, this problem must be solved first and as quickly as possible. This can be the key of the Romanian democracy and of its development in the future. [end recording]

Cernavoda Nuclear Power Plant Under Construction

AU1901193590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1733 GMT 19 Jan 90

["Stage of Construction Works on the Nuclear Power Plant at Cernavoda"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/1/1990—John P. Karger, coordinating manager for the construction of the nuclear power plant on behalf of the Canadian state, said that roughly 98-99 percent of the Canadian furnishings and some 80-85 percent of the Romanian ones had been put on stream to help start the operation of the generator set No. 1. Similar figures are registered in the case of the second generator set. Therefore, there is no longer a matter of equipment and materials; the only question is to amend the quality of some of them, something which is easily attainable. A strict labour organization is equally important. Equipment should be taken out from the places where they had been stored. Canadian experts are still available and imports will probably be needed.

Mr Karger's belief is that the first generator set could become operational in three or in three and a half years. In his opinion, the generator sets No. 3, 4 and 5 should not be abandoned as many Romanian factories have already got specialized in the manufacture of nuclear equipment—an experience that was not easily acquired and which should be furthered and improved.

Transportation Ministry To Join Organizations

AU2001222390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1502 GMT 20 Jan 90

["Affiliation"—ROMPRES healdine]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—The Ministry of Transport of Romania has made demarches for affiliation to the following international bodies:

—The European Conference of Ministers of Transport (ECMT);

—The Permanent International Association of Road Congresses (PIARC);

—The North-South European Highway Project (TEM);

—The International Convention on Sailors' Training, Card and Watch (STOW).

Former King Michael Sends Message to People

AU1901192790 Paris AFP in English 1734 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Jan 19 (AFP)—The exiled former Romanian king Michael wished Romanians a "long and happy life in a free and democratic country" in a message broadcast Friday by Romanian television and read by his daughter Sophia.

The former monarch, who was overthrown in 1947 when the communists came to power, conveyed his "profound respect for all those who died as heroes" in last month's uprising against dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. The princess said she conveyed, "with sadness and joy and a heart full of emotion, the fraternal greetings of those who have so painfully been separated from you".

In its main evening news bulletin, Romanian television reported the arrival Thursday of the exiled monarch's two daughters Margareta, first in line of succession, and Sophia for their first visit ever to Romania, and broadcast the former king's message.

The two sisters placed a wreath Friday at Roman Square in central Bucharest in honour of the victims of the insurgency which overthrew Mr. Ceausescu. They are to stay in Romania for at least a week. [passage omitted]

New Weekly TIMPUL Appears in Iasi

AU2001164990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1147 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—The first issue of weekly TIMPUL (THE TIME) has been put out in Iasi. As its editorial shows, the weekly intends "to assert the democracy, wide opinions, the liberation from lie and hypocrisy". It furthers the activity of a great newspaper with the same title issued in the second half of last century, a staff member of which was also poet Mihai Eminescu.

The first issue includes fragments from the great national poet's political articles, an interview by Minister of Culture Andrei Plesu on steps taken for the revigoration of the national culture, extensive excerpts from A. Solzhenitsyn's book "The Gulag Archipelago" and from Emil Cioran's book "Romania's Transfiguration", etc.

Comparison of Decree on Ministerial Appointments

AU0501201090

Bucharest ROMPRES in English at 1800 GMT on 5 January carries three decrees on ministerial appointments signed by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council. The ROMPRES version was compared with the Bucharest Domestic Romanian version published in the 5 January East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 65 and 66, revealing that the two are identical except for the following:

Page 65, column two, paragraph four of item, only sentence reads: "Article 2. Mihnea Marmeliuc is appointed minister of labor and social care. (correcting first name).

Slovenes Look to LCY Congress for Changes

LD1601215390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2047 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, January 16 (TANJUG)—Communists in the northwestern Republic of Slovenia will advocate the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's turning into an "alliance of autonomous republican and provincial leagues of Communists" by the end of the year and cancelling the principle of democratic centralism. Slovene Communists will also seek separation of the party and the state and the drafting of a new programme and statute of the LCY, in keeping with the Law on the Freedom of Political Association.

Speakers at today's enlarged plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia pointed out that Slovene Communists would attend the 14th special LCY Congress, opening in Belgrade on Saturday to help the LCY transform itself into a "most successful, organized and democratic factor of democratic reforms in Yugoslavia."

Secretary of the Central Committee Sonja Lokar sounded a note of warning by saying there were many signs indicating that Slovene Communists would have to fight at the Congress against attempts to isolate the Slovene League of Communists and separate it from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. She was against the congress making its decisions by outvoting and said that Slovene Communists would have to leave the congress if the delegates vote against the Slovene proposed for candidate for the post of president of the LCY Central Committee. According to the established rotation order, the post should now be occupied by candidate of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

The highest party body in Slovenia proposed that the observance of all human rights and freedoms be ensured at once and throughout the territory of Yugoslavia, along with "direct, general and secret election" for federal parliament. According to the proposal, participating in the elections on an equal footing would be all "political subjects," including both political parties, and candidates on independent citizens' lists.

It was proposed that the LCY move for setting up a "Yugoslav Democratic Forum" as a round-table in which all registered political groups and parties would be able to participate as equals and according to their choice.

Slovene Communists also prepared to abolish the so-called verbal offence under Article 133 of the Yugoslav Penal Code, set up a parliamentary commission to review all political trials in the postwar period, and discontinue all trials started under the disputed articles of the code.

LCY Congress To Extend to 23 Jan

LD1901142490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1203 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—The forthcoming 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress, which begins tomorrow in the Belgrade, will probably last 4 days instead of 3, as was originally announced. This arises from the timetable that states that it is "certain that the congress will also work on Tuesday, 23 January."

The timetable states what is to be done and when in the course of the congress sessions. On Monday afternoon the third plenary session is planned, at which the election of the LCY organs will be held. It is envisioned that it will take about 10 hours to count and sort the results of the voting in the first round of elections. This is the reason for the congress timetable envisioning that the "further course of the congress and its timetable will depend on the times needed for the voting."

LCY Central Committee Plenum Opens

LD1901142590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0833 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—This morning in the Sava Center, the 30th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee session, the last before the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress that opens tomorrow, has started.

At today's session, members of the Central Committee are considering draft congressional resolutions on Kosovo and relations with neighboring countries, as well as initiatives proposed at the republican League of Communists [LC] congresses and the conferences of the provincial LCs and the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. They will also consider several other issues relating to tomorrow's top gathering of Yugoslav Communists.

Plenum 19 Jan Meeting Reported

LD1901234290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0950 GMT 19 Jan 90

[All quotation marks as received]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—[Words indistinct] the extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress, the 30th LCY Central Committee session, the last in this composition, opened this morning in the Sava Center in Belgrade. It is envisioned that the LCY Central Committee session, held the day before the opening of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, will adopt the congressional resolutions on good-neighborly relations and the status and rights of Yugoslav (?nations) that live in neighboring countries as national minorities.

The LCY Central Committee will consider the initiatives proposed at the republican LC [League of Communists] congresses, the provincial LC conferences, and the Conference of the LC organization in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. It will be informed about cadre preparations for the congress and acquainted with objections to the proposed congressional declarations. Apart from overseeing organizational and technical preparations for the congress, the LCY Central Committee, in the last day of its term of office, should take a stand about reports of working groups formed to justify the initiatives that Ali Sabani, Adem Krasnici, Slobodan Filipovic, and Andjelko Kovacevic be expelled from the LCY Central Committee.

Talking at the begining of the plenum about the draft congress resolution on Kosovo, Ljubomir Varoslija first noted in the introductory remarks that (?the situation) in the province in many respects has improved, but that in many other respects [words indistinct] year. If the situation does not improve, the party and Yugoslav policy on Kosovo will be discredited. The Kosovo problems, he said, cannot be resolved in isolation outside the country's overall reform processes; they can only be resolved if we are united. [passage indistinct]

The LC already has numerous documents on Kosovo, but the conclusions of the (?9th) Central Committee Plenum, which "made the deepest breakthrough regarding the problems in the province," should continue to be the starting point of party policy in this respect. Varoslija advocated continuity but also constant development of the established LC policy on Kosovo by drawing attention to the duty to implement the policy uniformly, resolutely, consistently, and responsibly.

Kosovo is a first-rate problem for Yugoslavia. Figures about emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins [word indistinct] that, if it is not halted soon, the province will become ethnically pure. No patriot or progressive person can reconcile himself with the goals of Albanian nationalism, with violence and pressures.

Our path is not regression, but reforms and democratic development. This is the path of Kosovo's full integration with Serbia and Yugoslavia, creation of a law-governed state that will ensure equal and safe life in the province.

Changes in Yugoslavia are in (?full swing), so that not even Kosovo can remain outside reforms. Hence, the battle for Kosovo is the battle for Yugoslavia. Varoslija underscored and assessed that under conditions prevailing in Kosovo brotherhood and unity is not [words indistinct].

It is exceptionally important for the LCY that Albanian nationalism and separatism be eradicated, as well as any other nationalism and everyone else who is dividing and setting people against each other in Kosovo. Permeation of national cultures and not ethnic distance is a necessity, Varoslija said. [passage indistinct]

Finally, Varoslija proposed that the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress charges a new LCY to oversee the implementation of the party's policy on Kosovo and to draw concrete LC tasks regarding formation of a democratic and efficient movement for stabilizing the province's situation.

Ali Sabani, the first participant in the discussion, raised the following questions. How long will the SFRY Presidency's special measures be in force in Kosovo? When will there be democracy in Kosovo? He stated that the draft resolution on Kosovo does not answer these questions. He contested several [words indistinct] of the document referring to the removal of [words indistinct] and elements of nationalistic indoctrination, because they are in contrast with the conclusions of several previous LCY Central Committee sessions. "I love Vuk Karadzic, but I also love the Frasheris" [key figures in Serbian and Albanian cultural awakening], Sabani said and added that education of the Albanian nationality in their mother tongue bears the brunt of the new republican law on education.

According to Janez Zemljaric, the key tasks were well set and established in the draft resolution on Kosovo. But these tasks have not been set for the first time and are included in many party, state, and other bodies documents. [Sentence indistinct]

If this resolution on Kosovo is adopted at the congress, according to Sergej Kraigher, it will mean nothing either for LCY development or for Yugoslavia's international standing. Kraigher assessed that the adoption of this resolution will be admitting that we are incapable of apprehending our weaknesses or carrying out our own tasks.

The essence is, Kraigher said, that the Kosovo problems must be included in the overall development of Yugoslavia and Serbia, and on this basis we should discuss what should be done. Instead of a resolution, Sergej Kraigher stressed, we should understand reasons why we have not implemented the agreed on tasks. [passage omitted including portion indistinct]

Ljubomir Varoslija said that, in his view, LCY Central Committee members support the need for a resolution on Kosovo to be offered to the 14th extraordinary congress. On behalf of the working group, he said that objections, put forward by Janez Zemljaric, Sergej Kraigher, and Milomir Minic, that LCY Central Committee tasks in implementing the policy on Kosovo should be specified and sharpened at the end of the resolution can be accepted. Some remarks made by Ali Sabani are included in the resolution. In contrast to Sabani, Varoslija believes that stands on education in Kosovo do not contradict the decisions of the 16th, 17th, and 20th LCY Central Committee Plenums. Varoslija also believes that the political demand for unity and togetherness in the educational system in Serbia should not be contested.

Mentioning a comment made by Zemljaric that in the draft resolution there is no answer to the question of why LCY orientations are not being realized in Kosovo, Rahman Morina read a text of comments made by the Kosovo LC Provincial Conference Presidium to the LCY Central Committee Presidium in which it is asked that the draft resolution contain a concrete answer to this question and that responsibility for the failure to implement the LCY orientations in Kosovo be established in precise terms. [passage omitted]

Following a proposal put forward by Milan Pancevski, who chaired the session, that most of the comments from this debate should be endorsed and written into the revised text of the resolution, which will be sent to the congress, the Central Committee endorsed this document with seven votes against it.

With minor amendments, members of the LCY Central Committee also endorsed the 14th LCY extraordinary congress' proposed resolution on good-neighborly relations and the positions and rights of Yugoslavs who form national minorities in neighboring countries. This document's adoption, let us recall, was proposed at the 11th congress of the Macedonian LC. [passage omitted]

Today members of the LCY Central Committee also endorsed the LCY Central Committee Presidium's initiative that a proposal be put forward to the delegates of the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress that there be no changes in the sequence of elections for the highest-ranking offices in the LCY, which would mean that candidates for the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in the next period will be from the Slovene LC and for the secretary of the Presidium from the Vojvodina LC. The Central Committee took into account the stand of its Presidium that changes in the sequence will lead to various interpretations and result in further divisions within the LCY.

The Central Committee members also endorsed the stand that a proposal be put forward to the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress that the mandate of the LCY Central Committee's president should remain 1 year and not 2 years, as it was established some time ago. This change implies that there should be an amendment to the proposed decision prolonging the mandate, as well as appropriate regulations on this in the proposed changes and amendments to the LCY statute.

The only participant in the discussion on the information explained by Miomir Grbovic was Sonja Lokar, who supported the LCY Central Committee Presidium's stand to retain the envisioned rotation for the post of president and secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. She also informed the Central Committee that the Slovene LC Central Committee, despite the fact that Stefan Korosec presented the stand that no one from the former party leadership be proposed for the new composition, proposed Korosec, because he is a well-respected person in all of Yugoslavia.

Afterward, the information on cadre preparations for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress was unanimously adopted. Central Committee members adopted the proposal not to discuss or establish the final version of a congress declaration on new paths for the development of democratic socialism. Many objections, as well as the proposed declaration, will be submitted to all congress delegates, so that the document's final version will be established in this manner.

Borislav Mikelic, presiding member of the working Presidium, then recalled that he previously proposed that the congress adopt a special declaration on protecting the name and personality of Josip Broz Tito. It was agreed that the working group for preparing congressional documents decide whether or not to adopt such a declaration or to dedicate a part of the existing declaration to this issue.

Central Committee members adopted the information on organizational and technical preparations for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, which states that everything is ready for the opening of the top gathering of the Yugoslav Communists.

Ciril Ribicic remarked that it is not good that the number of members of the working Presidium of the congress expand from 11 to 17 members. Dusica Tanaskovic proposed that Drita Soti not become a member of that body, because she was proposed for other LCY bodies; the proposal was endorsed.

At the agenda of today's session of the LCY Central Committee, there were also reports of working groups justifying the initiatives that Ali Sabani, Adem Krasnici, Slobodan Filipovic, and Andjelko Kovacevic be expelled from the Central Committee. However, the Central Committee members adopted the LCY Central Committee Presidium's proposal that the reports not be discussed because the discussion would be purposeless and politically superflous.

Supporting the LCY Central Committee Presidium's proposal, Lev Kreft noted that this should be taken as evidence that the time "of settling scores with people and meddling with their lives" is gone. The rejection of the discusison on the reports, Kreft said, should also be a message to new Central Committee members that the party that crushes people should be abandoned. He proposed that a photo of the Central Committee from 3 years ago, when the committee was elected, be compared with a recent photo, so that it can be seen how many people are gone.

Vlajo Stojiljkovic disagreed with Lev Kreft's assessments and said that the LCY has never crushed people. Ljubomir Popovic voiced his own disagreement and that of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium regarding the decision not to discuss the information of the working groups. In this way, he said, the LCY Central Committee shows its inability to resolve problems. He thinks this decision, at least regarding Ali

Sabani and Adem Krasnici, means that the basic LC organizations to which they belong will establish their responsibility.

Later, the LCY Central Committee adopted several decisions and information. It decided on temporary financing of the LCY Central Committee in the first quarter. It adopted the information on the reorganization of the LCY services, which will be carried out immediately after the congress. In the first phase, reorganization of professional and political tasks aimed at setting up teams, personalizing responsibility, and linking secretaries directly to the LCY Central Committee Presidium will be carried out. In the second phase, which will last through the end of this year, a complete reorganization of the service, especially administrative and technological services and jobs, will be carried out. The number of employees will be reduced by a third.

The Central Committee reached a decision to appoint Vlajko Krivokapic, the director to date of the KOMUNIST newspaper and publishing organization, the acting director and the acting chief and responsible editor of all KOMUNIST publications, until the new director, chief, and responsible editors are elected, at the latest in 6 months' time.

Continuing its work, the LCY Central Committee was to discuss "a review of initiatives made at the congresses of the repubican and provincial LCs and at the congress of the LC in the Yugoslav People's Army." Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, however, put forward a proposal by the Presidium that all these initiatives be sent to the commissions for the preparation of documents for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. Among these initiatives is also the one based on some of the stands of the 11th Congress of the Slovene LC. In accordance with a conclusion from the 29th Session of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium discussed this initiative at two of its sessions and then established the following stands on current questions on the character and relations in the LCY:

"The Presidium believes that the LCY should be developing as a democratic and united organization, and that in the process of the LCY transformation it is particularly necessary to develop and stress those components of the LCY's organization and activity, relations between the parts and the whole of the LCY, as well as between its membership and the reorganization, which ensure a democratic character of creating and implementing the LCY's policy.

The Presidium points out that the fundamental questions regulating relations in the LCY cannot be dealt with from the positions excluding and setting conditions by any part of the LCY because this would undermine the principle of equality in the LCY. Differences that exist in this respect should be overcome democratically and dialogue supported with arguments.

The process of huge reform changes in the LCY and its position in society is not a single act and does not end at the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. The orientations built into the proposed changes and amendments to the LCY statute and in the proposals of other congress documents bring in new elements and deepen democratic relations in the LCY. A significant step in this direction will also be made at the LCY Congress itself.

In that sense, it will be proposed to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress to reach a decision on drafting a new LCY program and statute. It will, through dialogue, joint work, and listening to arguments, develop further orientations regarding the questions of the character of relations within the LCY, internal organizational principles, methods of work, and manners of decisionmaking under the conditions of political pluralism and changed social status of the LCY itself.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium holds that decisions regarding some essential program issues in the new LCY statute, which will be prepared after the congress and in line with the orientations from the documents on the LCY transformation, should not be reached by out-voting [as received] and by majority of votes, but also that obstruction of democratic decisionmaking should be prevented. It will be necessary to determine issues regarding which preliminary agreements must be reached and issues regarding which decisions will be made by a democratically constituted majority.

The Presidium also holds that the work on these issues should proceed from the point of view that all LCY members are equal, that relations between various organizations are democratically grounded, and that uniform implementation is mandatory when preliminary democratic decisions are made." The LCY Central Committee endorsed the proposed stances without discussion and without a single vote against.

This Central Committee attempts to creatively resolve all these issues and to open prospects for society's further development. There were many disagreements regarding these tasks, but we managed to overcome problems and to unanimously reach stances and tasks through creative work and greater mutual understanding. However, when it came to their implementation, we have not always been determined, persevering, united, and consistent, and therefore, many problems are still with us today, and some are exacerbated even further. The congress will pass final judgment on our work.

Our contribution to the 14th congress should consist in creative and consistent contribution to building up Yugoslav synthesis of common interests based on reform orientation of all Communists, our nations and nationalities, and the working class as a whole.

LCY 14th Extraordinary Congress Begins

Report on 1st Plenary Session

LD2001215990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0958 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 January (TANJUG)—The League of Communists [LC] and social reform—this is the basic topic of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress that began in the Sava Center in Belgrade today. [passage omitted]

During its session, the congress intends to adopt an LCY declaration, documents about the LC's reform and about the political and the economic system, resolutions about Kosovo and about good-neighborly relations and also about the status and rights of Yugoslav nations who as national minorities live in neighboring countries, changes and additions to the LCY statute, and also a decision to draft a new party program and statute. A new Central Committee and the new LCY statute and supervisory commissions will be elected.

After the congress opened, Milan Pancevski put forward the LCY Central Committee proposal that 17 members should be elected to a working presidium of this top meeting of Yugoslav Communists: Milan Pancevski, Stefan Korosec, Momir Bulatovic, Nijaz Durakovic, Milica Pejanovic-Djurisic, Petar Gosev, Milan Kucan, Sonja Lokar, Krstan Malesevic, Slobodan Milosevic, Rahman Morina, Ivica Racan, Milica Stanovukovic, Petar Simic, Nedeljko Sipovac, Sofija Todorova, and Bogdan Trifunovic.

Dzemalj Nikovic criticized the proposed composition of the working presidium because there was not enough room for "ordinary" delegates, since, with the exception of Sofija Todorova, all its other members hold political positions. I do not propose a change in the working presidium's composition, he said, but I am making an appeal for more attention to be paid to delegates from the "grass roots" in the course of the Congress.

Josip Strpic, on the other hand, assessed the proposed composition of the working presidium as good and that it speaks of the LCY's reform course. For this to be even more pronounced, he proposed that the congress' working presidium also include Janez Drnovsek, Ante Markovic, Stipe Suvar, and Ivo Latin.

Put to a vote, however, the congressional delegates did not accept Strpic's proposal and elected to the working presidium the 17 members proposed by the LCY Central Committee. Stefan Korosec then took over the role of chairman of the first plenary session and called on the delegates to pay their respects to LCY members who died in the inter-congress period with a minute's silence. [passage omitted: delegation appointed to lay wreath at Tito's tomb]

Stefan Korosec then welcomed on behalf of the working presidium all the delegates and guests at the congress, as well as the heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Belgrade who are attending the top meeting of Yugoslav Communists. Informing the delegates that the congress is being followed by a large number of Yugoslav and foreign journalists, he stressed that the LCY's top meeting had received numerous greetings telegrams from parties and movements throughout the world, which will be published in the congress bulletin and in KOMUNIST.

The congress then moved on to establish the standing orders. Stefan Korosec acquainted the delegates with several amendments to the proposed standing orders which were adopted at the 30th Session of the LCY Central Committee.

[Passage omitted: in the agenda discussion Dusan Pesic said that all discussion statements should carry equal value, Sojko Stanic said that the congress should work in plenary sessions only, Janko Veselinovic said that LCY Central Committee members should refrain from taking part in the debate, and Dragomir Miljic said that all congress documents should be taken as read]

Milovan Kosic was brief; he suggested that the delegates speak a language which was clear and understandable so that they could be understood both by the country's LC members and the public. He also expressed the thought that if they limited debate statements to 3 minutes each they could ensure the congress ends tomorrow. [passage omitted: Borut Pahor suggests that the proposal that the congress should be extended by one day be rejected and Bedjet Trnkoli says that the duration of the congress is immaterial provided the Communists resolve the problems]

In connection with Pahor's amendment that the LCY Declaration and the LCY Statute should not be adopted by a majority vote, that is, by voting [this suggestion is not contained in the TANJUG report on Pahor's statement omitted above], Milomir Minic observed that this proposal was unacceptable since the people who had come to the congress were the delegates of a single LCY who had been elected in accordance with the statute, and not in accordance with the standing orders concerning the congress' work. This, Minic believes, would change the delegates' status and, through the standing orders, the statute which regulates the relations within the LCY. This is not in the domain of the standing orders, only the party program and statute have the power to do that, added Minic, who also stressed that work must proceed in accordance with the statute and standing orders accepted while the issues which had been brought up should be discussed during the days ahead when congress documents are on the agenda.

The delegates then adopted, with 10 votes against, the standing orders of the 14th LCY Congress after voicing opinions on all the proposed amendments. Since the provision of the standing orders on decisionmaking by means of a two-thirds majority of the elected delegates is based on the existing statute, the amendment proposing the deletion of that provision was rejected.

The amendment that requests to speak should be listed and their order prepared was adopted, but two amendments, that the congress should only work in plenum and that, also only in plenary session, there should be a debate on the statute and the transformation of the LCY, were not passed. Work will therefore be carried out in plenum and in commissions.

The proposal that members of the LCY organs should not take part in the debate at plenary sessions and in sessions of the commissions contravenes the statute and is therefore only noted as an appeal. Whether the congress will last for 3 or 4 days remains to be seen, since it was agreed that the working presidium will suggest, after the work of the commissions, whether an extension is necessary. An amendment was also adopted according to which candidates are elected who receive the largest number of votes in the "second round."

Following the adoption of the standing orders, Stefan Korosec recalled that, in accordance with the standing orders, those taking part in the congress' work with the right of decision-making are delegates elected in the municipal and other conferences, at republican congresses, provincial conferences, and the conference of the LCY in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], members of the LCY Central Committee, members of LCY organs who have the status of delegates, and members of the LCY's statutory and supervisory commissions.

Korosec then proposed the congress agenda, which gave rise to polemics. [passage omitted: Vehbija Fazlic suggests that the 14th congress declaration should be adopted today. Dusan Pekic wants the discussion on the leading role of the LCY to be put on the agenda. Jovan Ivovic wants the case of the Bar LC Municipal Committee to be discussed. Boro Temenugov says that only appropriate organs can launch an initiative to change the Constitution. Milos Aleksic says that 14th congress declaration was not discussed in the LCY membership. Smiljko Sokol believes that if the LCY wants to remain a democratic party the 14th congress declaration is the right document. Dusan Bilandzic says that the declaration on democratic socialism must be adopted as soon as possible. Jelena Kosanovic says that documents may be adopted only after discussion. Stojana Berbera recalls the sessions of the present Central Committee when time was wasted on discussions on the agenda to be curtailed. Tome Trenevski said that the resolution on goodneighborly relations must be adopted. Slobodan Unkovic said that all congress documents are equally important. Dr Branko Caratan is dissatisfied with this discussion of the agenda. Borivoje Milovanovic says that the working class is not interested in a multiparty system but in dignified life. Salih Kehic supported the proposed agenda. Dr Rados Smiljkovic recalled that the declaration had been the only congress document not discussed among rank-and-file members.]

Responding on behalf of the working presidium, Stefan Korosec stressed that it was not in dispute that every proposed congress document had to be discussed. It is a matter of agreement whether they, and also the declaration, will be discussed at plenary sessions or in commmissions. He also said that the message by the congress to the Communists, citizens, the working class, and to the world will be most powerful if the declaration and other congress documents are arrived at unanimously.

It is true that the declaration was not available for general party discussion, but all central and provincial committees had expressed their views on it. What has to be decided now is whether to accept the amendment by some delegates that the declaration should be discussed first during a plenary session or whether, as suggested by the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, it should be adopted during the final plenary session, together with other docucments, following the discussion in the commissions. [passage omitted on debate contributions by Ernest Cukrov and Rodoljub Dzamic]

After Stefan Korosec proposed that the congress should first express its views on the amendment, and afterward on the proposal put forward by the LCY Central Committee, Mirko Vujosevic made the assessment that in so doing the sequence of voting was being changed, in violation of the statute and the standing orders. In addition, he did not agree that the most important congress document should be adopted under a summary procedure. This has to be done at the end. Korosec replied briefly that it is precisely the standing orders which make it clear that the congress should express its views on amendments first, and Dusanka Bogunovic then urged that the declaration be discussed first.

While the delegates registered their "for" and "against" votes, Milka Kikovic suggested that these "political games" happened very frequently during the LCY Central Committee sessions and asked Stefan Korosec, who was chairing the session, what the meaning was of the fact that during the LCY Central Committee session yesterday he voted for both congress documents and the declaration to be discussed in the commissions and adopted during the concluding plenary session whereas today he voted in favor of the amendment—and this had also been done by several working Presidency members.

Voting is an expression of democracy, and changing one's view is also an expression of democracy, was Ivan Siber's reaction. Those who do not understand this are in the field of LCY activity which has brought us into the crisis.

Stefan Korosec then announced that 780 delegates had voted for the amendment and 649 against it. However, at the same time he put forward a new assessment by the working presidium that after all it was impossible to discuss the declaration during plenary sessions. Over 150 amendments to the declaration had arrived so far which meant that the discussion of it will be prolonged. On the result of the vote's outcome, the declaration must be given priority, but it should be discussed in congress commissions. [passage omitted: Franjo Butorac expressed the view that the incoming Central Committee should be given specific instructions concerning its work. Slobodan Ignjatovic said that LC members had had enough of democracy imposed from above and for this reason he was against this way of congress work, though he had nothing against the declaration. Boris Malada called for another congress commission to be set up which would discuss nothing but the declaration and for the plenum to be convened once the commission ended its work]

Radoje Marinkovic stressed that he disagreed with the way the session was being conducted, objecting to the fact that the working presidium allowed voting on possible discussion about the draft declaration at the plenary session—though it was known that this would be difficult to realize—and then put forward its compromising proposal. [passage omitted: Marinkovic further called for adhering to the original agenda or at least for discussion on all congress documents in commissions on an equal footing]

In reply to this remark, Korosec mentioned that the LCY Central Committee had not been able to organize all-party debates on draft declarations on Kosovo and on goodneighborly relations. He repeated that a plenary discussion of the draft declaration would most likely extend the Congress by another day or two and that the working presidium, according to the code of practice, was required to put forward all amendments for voting.

He also noted that a new amendment on founding yet another congress commission which would discuss nothing but the draft declaration was presented. [passage omitted: Boris Tepsic said that before the vote all the arguments for and against should have been presented to the delegates. Zoran Andjelkovic thought that according to the standing orders the 780 majority was not big enough for the amendment to be approved. Dragomir Draskovic was sure that a common language will be found on key development issues]

He was followed by Stefan Korosec who said that the working presidium had put forward a compromise proposal precisely because of the "narrow" difference in the delegate "for" and "against" vote. [passage omitted: proposal by Zeljko Cigler that Pancevski's speech should not be read out, but that copies of it should be distributed to delegates. Indistinct passage on discussion of the declaration]

Dissatisfied with the congress' work, Zivojin Isailovic proposed that the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium be replaced because, in his words, for 4 years now they have been putting us in a similar situation to the one today when we had to vote three times not knowing the final outcome. For this reason he thinks that a new Central Committee must not include members from the "old" one.

There were also proposals—due to the way in which the congress has been conducted so far—to agree during a break on who will conduct sessions and in what way, because this morning's proceedings were confusing.

Continuing their discussion on the agenda, congressional delegates cast votes on other amendments. The proposal was rejected which—in a separate document—requested that the SFRY Assembly amend that part of the Constitution that referred to the party's leading role, because this proposal was contained in the congressional documents anyway. [passage omitted: Delegate from Bar requested the reexamination of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee decision on dissolution of municipal committee. Decision was reached to include resolution on Kosovo in the Congress documents, indistinct passage on adoption of agenda] After this, Delegates elected members and (?chairmen) of the commissions' presidia.

The congress will work in three commissions—for economic reform, for reform of the political system, and for the LCY's transformation. [passage omitted on number of delegates participating in each commission]

Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, then submitted his report: "LCY and Social Reform". [passage omitted: announcement by Korosec on work in three commissions to begin at 1600 GMT. The commissions will prepare reports and submit them to the plenum. Final draft documents in Serbo-Croat will be prepared by tomorrow evening before the plenary session. The congress is attended by 1,601 delegates]

The plenum has acknowledged the intervention by Luka Mestrovic, from the LC organization in organs and organizations of the federation, objecting to the verification commission's report which does not mention delegates from this organization and to the fact that delegates from this organization are not included in any working body of the congress.

1st Plenary Session Ends

LD2001180790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—The first plenary session of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress ended at about 1500 [1400 GMT] today with the adoption of the report by the credentials commission.

These were 1,601 delegates and about 150 guests taking part in the work of the top LCY meeting. Since over two-thirds of the elected delegates and members of the LCY organs who have delegate status are present it was noted that the congress has full powers to work and to make decisions.

The proceedings of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress will be resumed at 1700 this afternoon in three commissions: for economic system's reform, for the political system's reform, and for the LCY's transformation.

1st Day of Session Concludes

LD2001231990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2229 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—After heated debates conducted in two of the three commissions, the delegates of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress finished the first day's work.

In the commission for the political system's reform, 40 delegates spoke this morning and afternoon and only 16 of them were on the list of the 120 registered speakers. There were considerably fewer replies in the commission for the LCY's tranformation where 25 participants in the congress spoke.

However, in the commission for economic reform, in whose work half of the participants showed interest, there were no replies, and due to this fact the highest number of delegates presented their views here: 30 out of 121.

The delegates resume work tomorrow morning in the same commissions.

Congress Resumes Work 21 Jan

LD2101081590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0718 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—A discussion in the commission for the transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and statutory changes, opened the second day of the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress at Belgrade's Sava Center. Discussions in the commissions for the reform of the political and economic systems will be announced shortly.

Slovene Delegates May 'Leave Congress'

AU2101150890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Let us now go to our reporter Momcilo Boskovic at the Extraordinary 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress and ask him what is happening at the congress' Sava Center.

All commissions are now in fact taking breaks. It lasted until a minute or so ago in the commission for [reforming] the economic system. The debate will continue at 1600 [1500 GMT] and in some commissions at 1630 [1530 GMT].

Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, visited the journalists' and photographers' pool of Yugoslav radio stations a short time ago and enquired about working conditions and cooperation between Yugoslav radio stations in reporting on the congress.

At the end of this short report from the Sava Center, we would like to inform our listeners that all Slovene delegates at the congress began a meeting at 1400 [1300 GMT] in Hall 1A. Journalists and television cameras were not allowed into the meeting.

We have unofficially discovered that there is the possibility that the Slovene delegates will leave the congress. We are waiting to be officially informed about what has been decided at the meeting. In the meantime, there is a large number of journalists, television cameras, photographers, and foreign journalists outside the closed doors of the hall but no one—not even Slovene journalists—is being allowed in.

That is the end of our report from the Sava Center and the congress.

Slovenes Propose Plenary Session

AU2101191290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] A great deal happened at the news conferences at the Sava Center today. Here is Djordje Vlaic on the line. He covered the Slovene Communists' news conference.

Those appearing before the journalists were Ciril Ribicic, president of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee, Lev Kreft, Sonja Lokar, and Tatjana Jurjevec. The Slovene delegates' statement adopted at the meeting this afternoon was read in Slovene by Ciril Ribicic, and in Serbo-Croatian by Lev Kreft, who remarked that this is only for the sake of communication.

[Begin Kreft recording] We, the delegates of the League of Communists of Slovenia, assess that the work of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress so far has reached a deadlock, which must necessarily end with the joint organization's disintegration. The commissions' discussions have not succeeded in concentrating on essential questions of substance in the proposed congress documents. It has thus been impossible to take a position on the conceptual differences in the reform of socialism, Yugoslavia, and the LCY.

We propose that such work of the commissions be discontinued at once and that the Congress meet in a plenary session as soon as possible, and certainly today. After a discussion of the amendments, the session should vote on the LCY's priority political moves, which is the declaration's closing section.

However, it has been shown that an equal discussion is not possible unless one first clears up the question of the LCY as a league of independent republican organizations which freely join together in the LCY. An essential and integral part of this question is the demand that from this moment onward it is no longer possible to outvote entire republican organizations on basic cadre, statute, and program questions.

We appeal to all the delegates that regardless of the conceptual differences mentioned earlier, they decide on this question from the viewpoint of preserving a joint organization.

[Signed] Delegates to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress from the League of Communists of Slovenia, in Belgrade on 21 January 1990. [end recording]

The first question by a journalist was the following: What if the request is not met? Will the Slovene delegates leave the congress in that case?

Ciril Ribicic replied and said that the Congress' working presidium has been meeting since 1830 [1730 GMT]; it will decide on the Slovene delegates' request, and the further moves by the representatives of the League of Communists of Slovenia at the 14th extraordinary Congress depend on that. In any case, the Slovene delegates will meet and then decide what to do.

Here is another question: Has the Slovene delegation informed any other delegation about its request addressed to the Congress' working presidium?

Ciril Ribicic replied that at 1730 this afternoon he presented the Slovene delegation's statement to Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidency, and all the Slovene delegates have been asked to inform other delegates in the commissions in which they work about the position of the Slovene delegation, trying to persuade them to agree to the request submitted to the Congress by the Slovene delegates.

At the news conference, or better in conversation with journalists, there has been much dispute about why the Slovene delegation closed the door to journalists with the exception of some journalists from Slovenia, Croatia, and some foreign journalists. The answer was that what was banned was only filming and voice recording of the discussion in which the Slovene delegates reached the position presented to the congress. Otherwise journalists were able to enter freely.

Several journalists, chiefly from Belgrade offices, reacted to this. They asserted that any approach to the hall was barred to them and that it was simply impossible to enter it because security guards would not let them. Lev Kreft among others replied to these remarks saying: This is not our home and we do not decide who will enter which hall.

Bosnians Propose Communist, Socialist Parties

AU2101215190 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2100 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Excerpts] (?Considering that) the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] (?continued) today in quarrels, denigrations, and scolding in the commissions, it was in fact just a matter of time before somebody blew his top, saying that one could not go on in this way. The late afternoon news conference of the Slovene delegates who stressed that such a course by the congress does not lead to anything but a disintegration of the [LCY] threw down the gauntlet to the working presidium, which was asked to convene a plenary session this evening so that the course of the discussion could be redirected to the key political problems of the declaration as the basic document of the congress.

The working presidium has been pondering the suggestion of the Slovene delegates all evening. [passage omitted]

Let us say in conclusion that the delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina have also conveyed their suggestion to the congress. They propose that among the priority political decisions in the declaration, the congress should discuss a radical and comprehensive transformation of the LCY, which means a transformation of the League of Communists into two new parties: the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia.

Party 'Disintegration' Predicted

AU2101153590 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Rudi Medved introduction to "Events and Reactions" newscast]

[Text] The course of the discussions at the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress has confirmed what those who know about the situation have been predicting for some time: that a clash will flare up primarily about the manner of the League of Communists transformation.

This indeed is happening now, for the advocates of a unified, dogmatic, centralist, and power-holding party cannot understand or do not want to understand that the disintegration process began long before the congress and that the Yugoslav Party is even now only a league of leagues. Until the delegates learn to find at least a modicum of a basis for discussion, they cannot properly talk about the party's transformation, for only one thing is in store for it: a complete disintegration.

This morning's news conference of Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, with foreign journalists attracted more media attention than the congress proceedings. Pregl resolutely said that the federal government does not intend to pay any regard to the strife in the party, for it is responsible for its work only to the Assembly, and the Assembly gave it a mandate to carry out a comprehensive economic reform.

Rejection of Pancevski Report Urged

LD2101153490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—With those of us who came to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress expecting a clear articulation of the LCY's reform position, Milan Pancevski's report did not go down well at all, stressed delegate Borut Pahor from Slovenia during the discussion in the commission for the reforming political system. In addition, Pahor suggested Pancevski's report should be rejected as "inadequate" and that it should not be accepted as a full-value document of this Congress.

Congress Work Plan in Question

LD2101211490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1856 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—According to the work plan of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, it was planned that the congress commissions finish their work tonight. However, this part of the plan by the highest Yugoslav party meeting has been brought into question, in view of the fact that in the commission for the LCY's transformation a further 137 delegates are to take part in the discussion. There is a similar situation regarding the number of those who will take the floor in the other two commissions as well.

Possible Compromise on Reorganization Seen

LD2201082490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2355 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, January 21 (TANJUG)—Judging by a brief statement issued late tonight, after the working presidency of the 14th special Congress of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] concluded its session which lasted several hours, a compromise seems to have been reached and the Congress, after many uncertainties, may be expected to be brought to a comparatively successful conclusion.

This afternoon, following a statement released by the delegates of the League of Communists of Slovenia who demanded in the form of an ultimatum the reorganization of the LCY and formations of an alliance of autonomous republican party organizations, it seems that the Congress was in a crisis from which it would be difficult to come out.

The Slovene Communists also demanded that the Congress commissions stop working at once and that a plenary session be convened to adopt the declaration as a programme document of the congress.

The commissions have continued their work late into the night, and it is expected that a debate of substance on the questions raised by the Congress declaration will be held in tomorrow's plenary session and that the declaration will be adopted. In this context, care will be taken about the amendments proposed in the debate so far.

At the session, the delegates are also to adopt other Congress documents, decide on the setting-up of a commission to draft a new programme and statute of the party, and elect new members to the Central Committee and other bodies of the LCY.

More on Slovene Plenum Request

LD2201112890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1033 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 22 (TANJUG)—The third day of the 14th special Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) will start at 14:00 local time (13:00 GMT) with a plenary session which, at the request of the Slovenian delegation, should decide on whether the party accepts as its immediate tasks those defined in the concluding part of the Congress declaration entitled for democratic socialism and Yugoslavia.

The session will also review another Slovenian proposal brought out [word indistinct] for the LCY to be turned into an association of independent parties of the six Yugoslav republics and the two autonomous provinces.

Work was also to resume this morning in three congress commissions, where several hundred delegates were still on the speakers' list last night. However, only the commission for the political system re-convened this morning to conclude its work under an accelerate procedure, while the two others—for the economic reform and a reform of the party—ended their work late last night.

Assessing as unproductive the debate in the commissions, in [word indistinct] republican delegations stood firmly by their views, heterogeneous in regard to many important points, the Slovenes demanded an urgent vote in a plenary session on the main Congress document. The differences were most obvious between the representatives of the Republics of Slovenia and Serbia.

The declaration for democratic socialism and Yugoslavia, an up-to-date and liberal document, lists as the principles of Yugoslav Communists a radical transformation of the party, the formulation of a new programme and statute, and a new constitution for the country.

The declaration insists on a reconstruction of Yugoslav laws, which would create conditions for the implementation of all international documents on human rights and freedoms signed by Yugoslavia, the abolition of the so-called verbal offence and other provisions of the penal code which deny constitutionally defined political rights of the citizens, legalization of a multi-party system, the initiation of a procedure for Yugoslavia's joining the Council of Europe as well as support to the project of a radical, market-oriented economic reform.

'Tensions,' Disagreements Continue

AU2201120690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Dragan Stavljanin report]

[Text] The final day of the work of the commission for the transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], which was in fact the only commission to hold a session this morning because the other two commissions, the commissions for the economic and political systems, finished their work last night, was again characterized by tensions, misunderstandings, polemics—in other words, by a bitter discussion which dominated the previous 2 days.

The main misunderstanding was about the report on this commission's wok. The working group chaired by Boris Muzevic tried to present a wide range of the most common views and proposals in a brief text. However, the majority of the delegates was of the opinion that the proposed report was too general and does not fully reflect the endeavor for a unified LCY and Yugoslavia in general, a view that is in fact held by the majority of delegates.

Thus the aforementioned report does not reflect the real essence of the discussion and is too much of a compromise. Moreover, many delegates said they would be ashamed to go back to their grass roots because of all the quarrels that lead nowhere and because of excessively general stands, according to which one should change much without a detailed explanation as to how to do it.

Dobroslav Jeretic did not agree with those who think the LCY should be abolished. According to Bidi Jorg, this is the congress of the LCY and one must not allow the founding of any factions, that is, other parties such as socialist or social-democratic parties within the LCY.

Branko Horvat held a different view. He believes the proposed report does reflect the essence of the discussion, but that it lacks the synthesis of assessments and stands. He thinks that no one has placed a question mark over the unity in the LCY and Yugoslavia as a whole. What is at issue are great conceptual differences as to how to arrive at this unity. This was not achieved in the discussion because of the poor organization of the congress.

Chairman Milan Popovic, delegate from the Yugoslav People's Army, and Boris Muzevic again warned that the report cannot contain value judgments, because this is a matter for the plenum at which the delegates will vote either in favor of or against specific proposals.

After that the discussion continued and several delegates objected to the conclusion in the report that the endeavor for a unified LCY did not represent some kind of orientation but a simple matter of fact.

After that the delegates were given a break during which the working group will try to write a new report that will take into account the above-mentioned and other objections and proposals.

As announced, the session of the commission for the LCY's Transformation should continue as you are listening to this report. The plenary session is planned for 1400 [1300 GMT].

Opposition Leaders' Interviews Carried

AU1801122590

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 16 January on page 6 carries, on one half of the page, interviews with Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian National Renewal Party; Franjo Tudjman, leader of the Croatian Democratic Community; and Joze Pucnik, leader of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, given to Belgrade magazine NOVOSTI 8 under the title: "Opposition Leaders Exclusively for NOVOSTI 8." The date of the issue of NOVOSTI 8 in which these interviews originally appeared is not given. In addition to the above-mentioned interviews BORBA also carries the magazine's explanation of why it publishes these interviews. Among other things, the explanation states: "The latest issue of NOVOSTI 8 lends its pages to the leaders of the parties which offer their own solutions for how Yugoslavia should be arranged.

"Although this has already been said, lets us repeat it: The parties such as the Serbian National Renewal, led by Vuk Draskovic; the Croatian Democratic Community, led by Franjo Tudjman; the Slovene Democratic Alliance, led by Joze Pucnik; and other similar parties basically advocate solutions and relations for which we have already dearly paid—in lives!

"The resurrection of these parties, controversies, intrigues, and blood-drenching calls for rallies have frightened all well-intentioned people, because such orthodox alternatives certainly instill even more dissension and lead to even worse exclusions. The specters of the past cannot enter the future. The hatred that has been demonstrated would only lead to even more odious concentric circles. Since we have expressed this kind of view, one may ask: Why would the NOVOSTI 8 editorial board lend its pages to such chieftains and storm troopers? In our view the answer is very simple: We think that a democratic magazine, such as ours, should not keep silent about such shocking parties and such shocking programs, or only join in criticizing their activities. This is why we wanted to expose through these discussions the real ideas of these leaders, and to enable the readers to understand their messages so that these parties could not claim that they were attacked for no valid reason."

The 700-word interview with Vuk Draskovic, entitled "We Are Not Considering an Alliance With Tudjman," reads in part:

"[Draskovic] Since the Slovenes are continuously sending messages that they want an independent state and that they are against Yugoslavia, then the defense of Yugoslavia should not only be in the hands of us Serbs. This is why we must promptly tell them at least one basic thing, and that is: You cannot deprive us of the dowry which we brought into Yugoslavia. Everything we had in 1918 and won through three bloody, just, and, liberation wars will again be ours. In the West, we will capture the territories in which the Serbs were in the majority before the genocide. We will do this because we, gentlemen, whether you are Croatian communists, socialists, or whatever, cannot allow the universal shame of an entire nation being slaughtered under the Croatian flag only to be immediately followed by a counting of heads. People ask: Where are the Serbs in Croatia? They are in Jasenovac. [notorious extermination camp]

"I can present our attitudes toward Yugoslavia in two ways. I am guided by my heart and reason. My wish is not to break up Yugoslavia. I think that I know the concept of a Yugoslavia that could survive, but the Croats would not want this kind of Yugoslavia.

"[Question] What is your concept?

"[Draskovic] Our concept is that we should set up one or two autonomous provinces in Croatia for the Serbs who live there. It would also be necessary to set up province in Western Bosnia where the catholic population is in the majority. Bosanska Krajina would also have to be made into a province for the huge majority of the Orthodox Serbs. East Bosnia and Hercegovina should be made into provinces too. Central Bosnia, where the Muslims are in the majority, should also be made into a province, if for no other reason than because of their religion. The same applies to the Western Macedonia where Albanians are in the majority. In Serbia, we could make other provinces....so that all these provinces could advance in a multiparty parliamentary system.

"The Croats and Slovens are against the idea of Yugoslavia other than that without Serbia. We cannot accept this. Therefore, it is necessary for Serbs to have our national answer.

"[Question] Could this national answer mean the restoration of the monarchy at the threshold of the 21st century?

"[Draskovic] In the program of the Serbian National Renewal I proceeded, in principle, from an undisputed fact, namely that after World War II the people were not allowed to freely say whether they wanted a monarchy, a republic, or a socialist federal republic. The members of the minority Communist Party decided this for the people themselves. Now, we should finally allow the people in Yugoslavia to answer, through a referendum which would be supervised by all political parties, the question that has not been answered yet: Has the crown been taken away from the Karadjordjevic dynasty? If it turns out that the people do not want the dynasty, to hell with it. But just imagine if the people in Serbia want it! I do not know what the people will say in the referendum. However, I do know that we cannot enter Europe without a national policy and program together with those whose polices are entirely based on nationalism. We cannot carry on forever with the national policies that only suit those who dream about the disappearance of Serbs."

The 500-interview with Franjo Tudjman reads in part:

"[Question] Many people are accusing you of having revanchist intentions calling you an extreme nationalist party that partly consists of former prisoners convicted for participating in the so-called mass movement?

"[Tudjman] This is a distorted and misleading view of the Croatian National Community. It is true that we are attacked as revanchists, but this is precisely because we are a Croatian democratic party, and because we want to defend the identity and sovereignty of our people. This is why we are being attacked and almost branded as an Ustasha organization. As regards claims that we are a party of former prisoners, the fact is that our party has the smallest number of these....

"[Question] You oppose a great Serbia with a great Croatia.

"[Tudjman] Under the present conditions when the identity of the Croatian people is threatened, we are only voicing the authentic views of the people.

"The obsession with and the fear of great Serbian nationalism and hegemony, which are not exclusively experienced by the Croatian Democratic Community, culminated with your party's calls for the restoration of natural and historical borders in the parts of the country in which Croats live. Does this not, for instance, mean the negation of the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the national identity of the Muslims, and the alteration of borders?

"[Question] You mentioned the destruction of Yugoslavia as founded on the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. What kind of Yugoslavia and Croatia do you envisage?

"[Tudjman] I envisage a democratic Croatia within Yugoslavia, but with clearly defined confederalist relations. Everything else would be going from one crisis to another, just as has been happening throughout the entire period since the creation of Yugoslavia. We exclusively support clear confederalist relations so that the Croatian people could not have a hegemony imposed on them, so that they can decide for themselves how they want to live, in what kind of country, and whether they want to join the European Community of their own accord or jointly with others."

The 600-word interview with Dr Joze Pucnik includes the following passage:

"[Question] Since you do not support Yugoslavia as it is now, in what way do you think relations among the Yugoslav peoples should be arranged?

"[Pucnik] A confederation is the most acceptable form of organization and joint living for all of us. The organs of the confederation should primarily have a consultative character. They should not have any legislative powers and they should not impose on anybody any provisions that do not suit him. This means that at the confederal level there should be a unicameral assembly in which the peoples' representatives would exchange opinions and reach agreements that suit them. In case there is no consensus about some issues, the principle of veto should be brought into operation allowing the implementation of the issues in question only in those republics that find them suitable. One cannot demand that one decision or one opinion be imposed on everybody, because that would mean a forced, unnatural equalization of conditions in all confederal units."